

LETS
RE-
MAKE
THE
WORLD



LET'S RE-MAKE THE WORLD

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1. The Radiantly Optimistic Poster Show. YNKB Copenhagen, DK, December 16th, 2006
2. The Radiantly Optimistic Poster Show II + Ungdoms-
huset Poster Show with Malene Nielsen. Mess Hall
Chicago, IL June 2007
3. What We Know of Our Past. What We Demand of Our
Future: A three-day gathering to talk about socially-
engaged, political, and critical artwork, its international
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INTRODUCTION

Let's Re-Make The World

This book is a collection of documentation and writing around exhibitions and seminars that took place over several years and one ocean. It represents collaboration between the organizers, Ydre Nørrebro Kultur Bureau (YNKB) and The Library of Radiant Optimism for Let's Re-make the World (Brett Bloom + Bonnie Fortune), and the participants at those exhibitions and seminars. It represents ideas bubbling up and then fading or conversely, gaining traction and sustainability among a dispersed group of practitioners. It represents a beginning.

The book will serve not as a definitive guide to a movement, but as a compendium of ideas for social change, cultural work, organizational strategies, and poetic gestures that have been brought up at the four events catalogued here. Those events are:

The Radiantly Optimistic Poster Show, YNKB, Copenhagen, Denmark, December 16, 2006 – February 15, 2007.

The Radiantly Optimistic Poster Show II + Ungdomshuset Poster Show (co-organized with Malene Nielsen), Mess Hall, Chicago, IL, June 2007.

What We Know of Our Past. What We Demand of Our Future: A three-day gathering to talk about socially-engaged, political, and critical artwork, its international iterations, history, and future, Mess Hall, January 18-20, 2008.

Let's Re-make the World III: For 3 days YNKB was transformed into a seminar installation with a kitchen (Folkekøkken) serving free food, a dining room, a hotspot, and a seminar space with a "democratic wall" constantly collecting statements from the participants. Six invited international speakers from England, Germany, and the United States, presented and discussed critical art projects for social change, followed by statements from the participants and the Sunday workshop worked out a joint statement. Havblik Audio and Peter Dacke played experimental music closing long days of discussion, YNKB, February 22-24, 2008.

The project begins in Copenhagen in 2006 as a way to question and react to political, emotional, and social apathy in the face of world wide environmental and economic crisis and war. We set out to look at our own practices and to compare them to and form solidarities with our peers working in similar ways in socially or politically engaged cultural work. Some inspiration for the series began with 1960s + 1970s social movement cultures, which served as a likely starting point because of a comparable international climate of war, environmental devastation, and unrest. This was partially because the Library of Radiant Optimism collects books from this time period, but also because some of the initiators of YNKB participated in several large-scale actions at that time. As we put this book together we asked ourselves, what if anything have we gained from this process. The most successful part being strengthening social connections to build an international cadre of those working for social change. But, if we reached any conclusion from this process it is that we are socially enraged artists not socially engaged artists.

Enjoy the book.

Let's move forward together collecting and sharing new experiences and ideas.

Many thanks to everybody who contributed.

YNKB

The Library of Radiant Optimism for Let's Re-Make the World.
February 2009



The Radiantly Optimistic Poster Show, YNKB, Copenhagen, Denmark, December, 2006

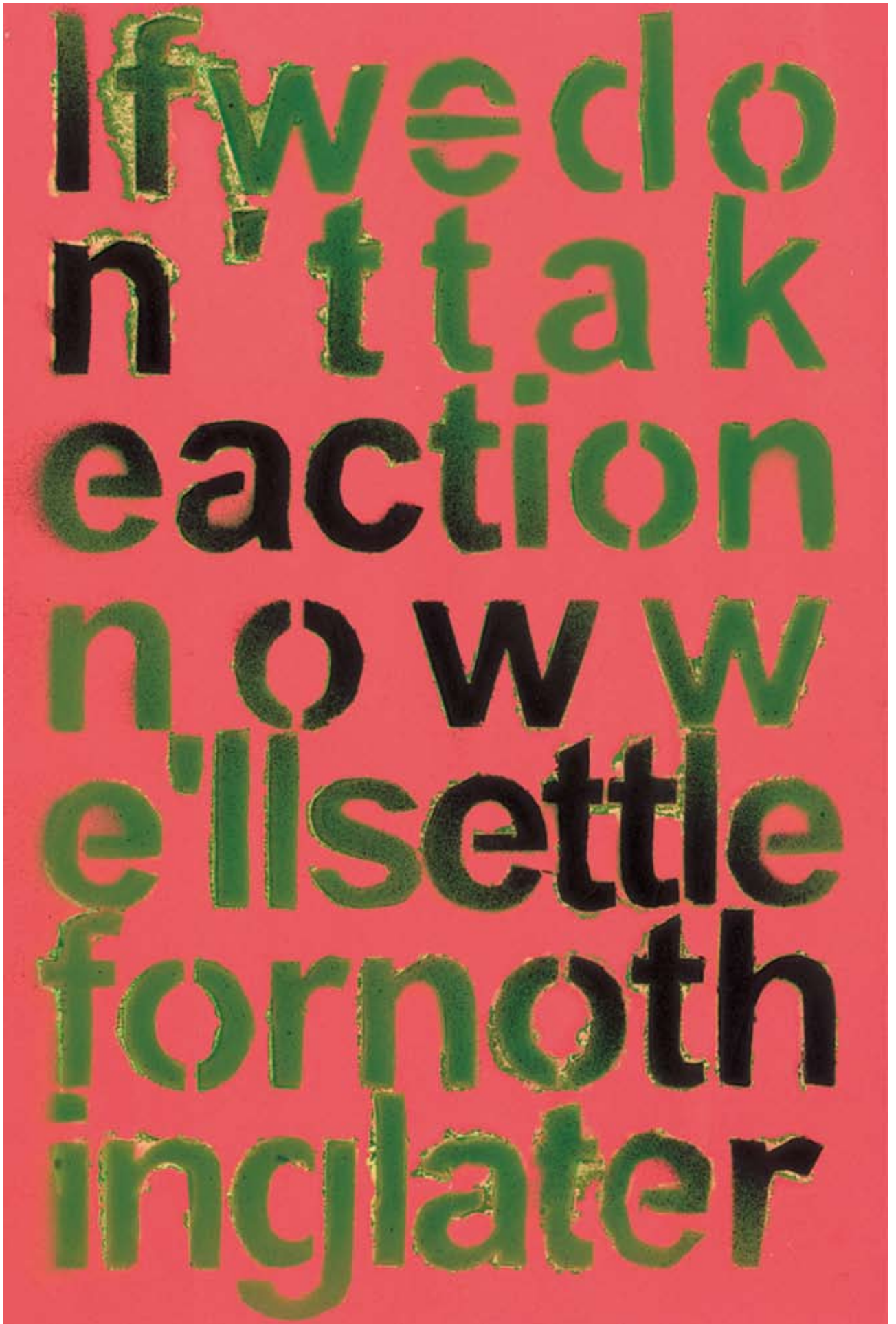


The Radiantly Optimistic Poster Show II, Mess Hall, Chicago, IL, June 2007.

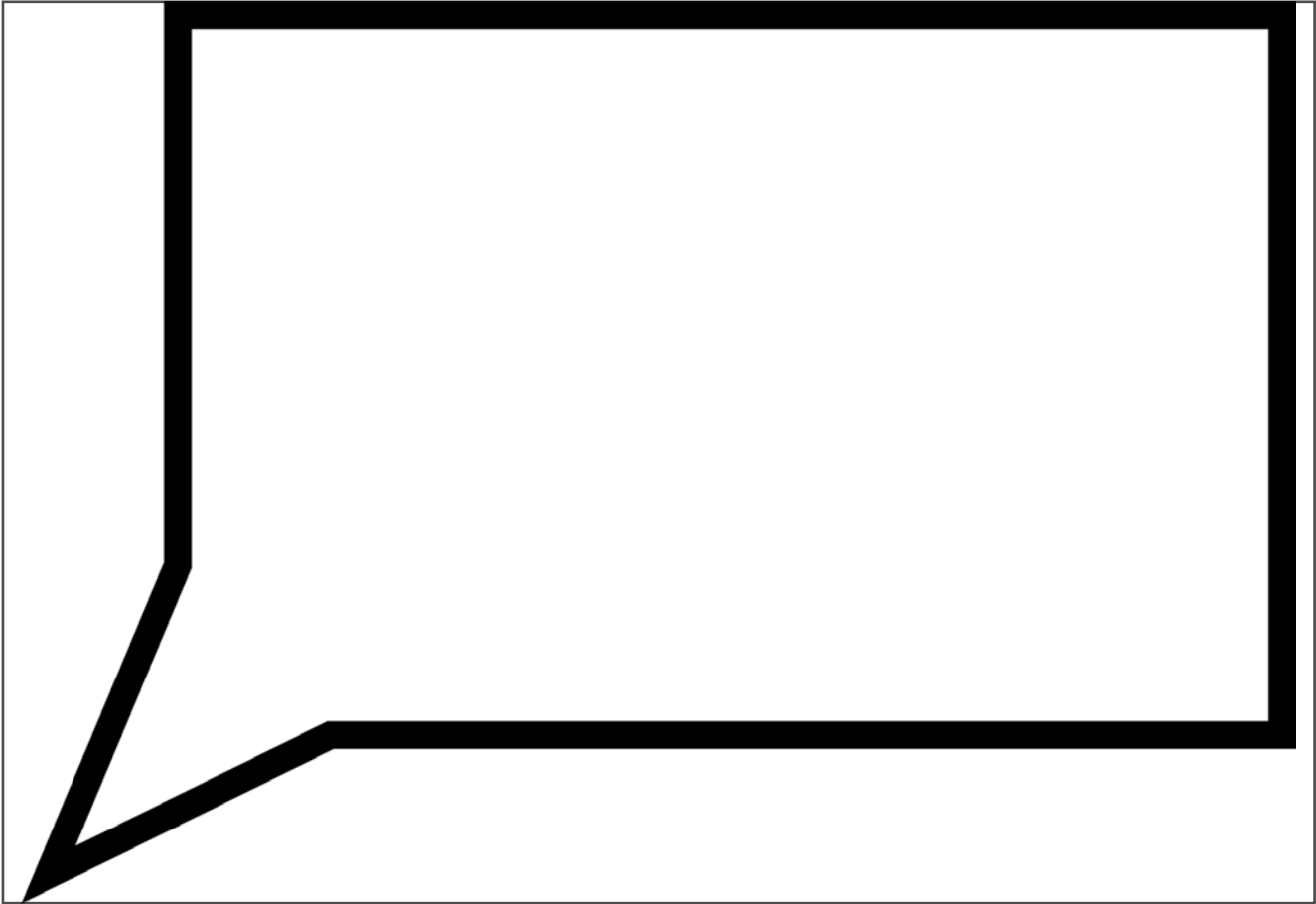
THE RADIANTLY OPTIMISTIC POSTER SHOW

YNKB, Copenhagen, December, 2006
Messhall, Chicago, June, 2007

We are inspired by the groundswell of optimistic and visionary activities in the late 1960s and early 1970s. We are interested in this time period and the massive countercultural movement it produced in the face of international political and social turmoil. We find ourselves in a similar global environment of unprecedented crises and we are wondering how we can make visible and cohesive the currently existing activities. Is there potential to add to the optimistic histories of past activisms with our own movements? This project seeks to create a discussion about the place of optimism in the face of war, environmental devastation, and global capitalism. We asked people to make posters about their own work or reflect on how we can make optimistic plans to all go along together.



NOAH, Kirsten Dufour



Thorbjørn Christiansen



Eleanor Holmes Norton:
The only way to make sure people you agree with can speak is to support the rights of people you don't agree with.

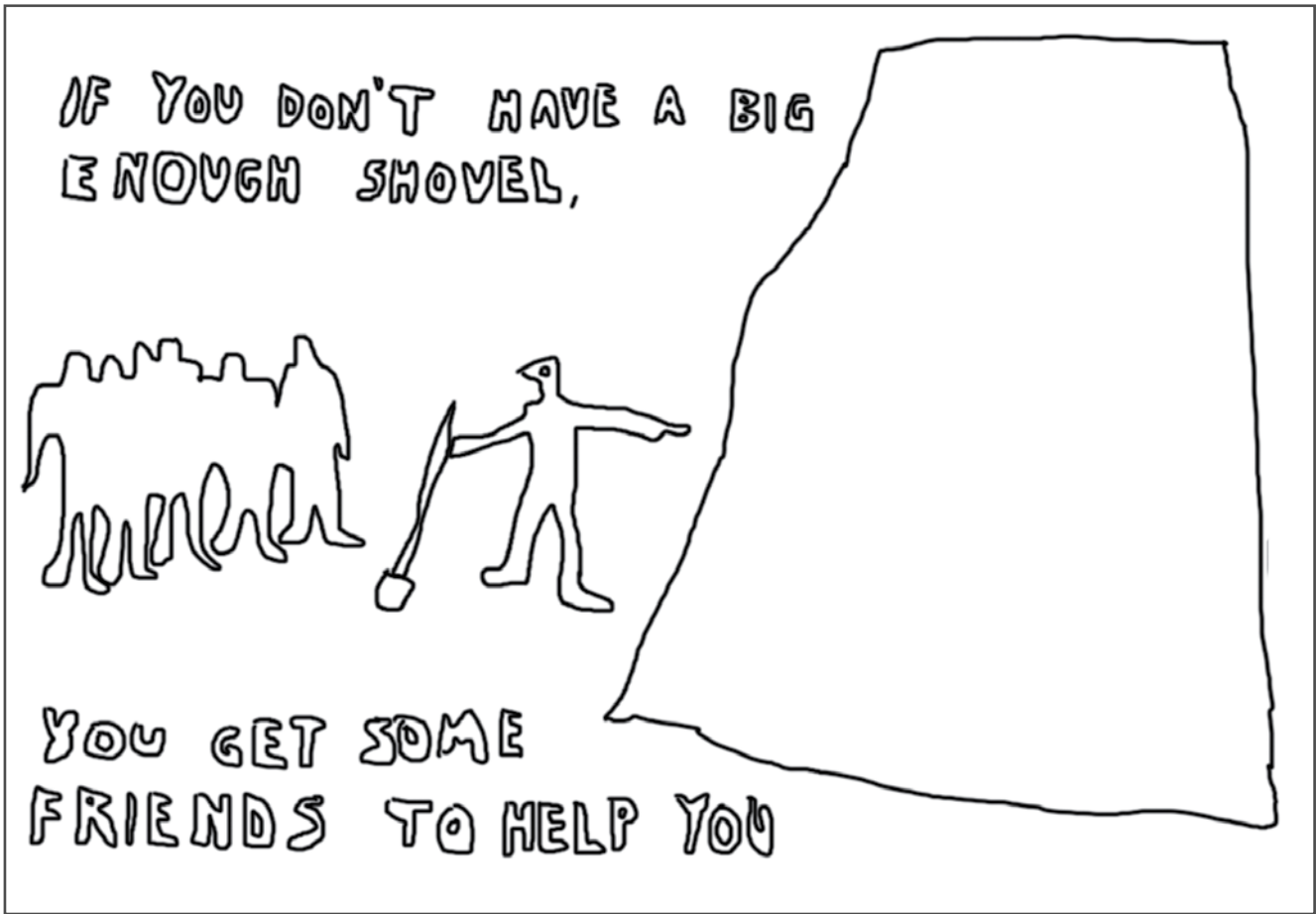
तपाईंसँग सहमत हुने मानिसहरूले बोल्न पाउन् भन्ने सुनिश्चित गर्ने एउटै बाटो भनेको तपाईंसँग सहमत नहुने मानिसको अधिकारको समर्थन गर्नु हो ।
एलिनोर होम्स् नोर्टन

nynnehaugaard@hotmail.com & nikolajkilsmark@hotmail.com

Haugaard & Kilsmark



F o u n d C o n t i n e n t
Katie Holten, December 2006



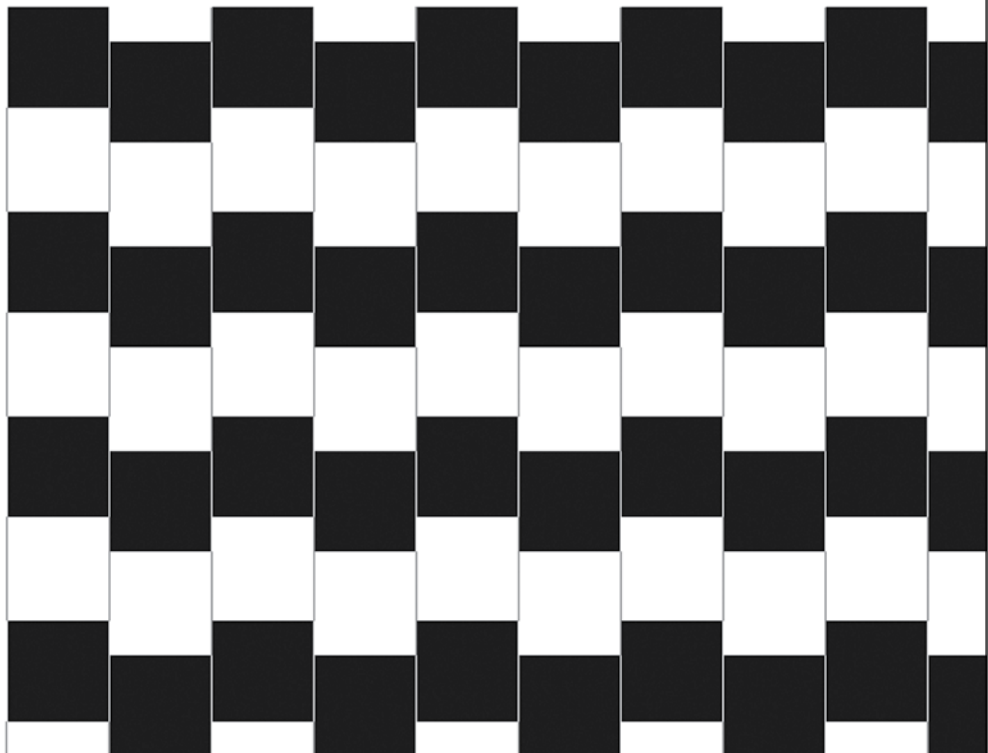
Finn Thybo Andersen

Technology and industry have presented art with the problem of Construction as effective action, not contemplative figurativeness.

—Varvara Stepanova, *5 x 5 = 25. Katalog vystavski*, 1921

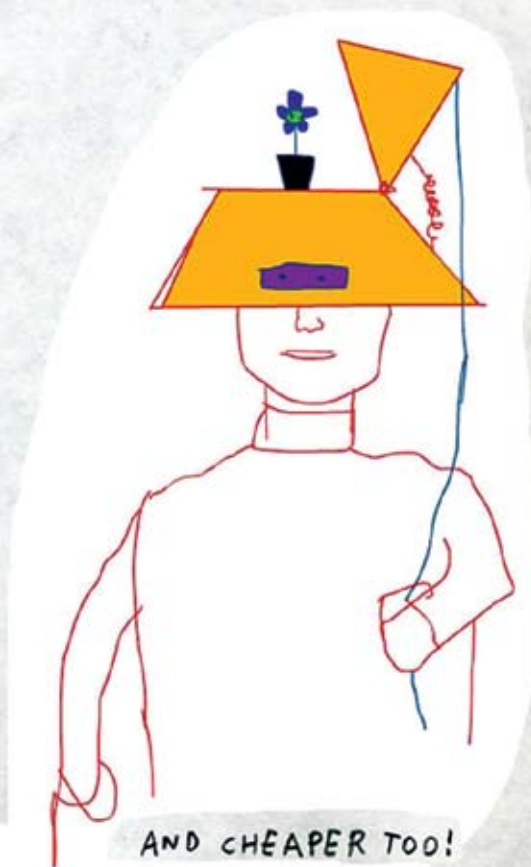
At its best New Wave/punk represents a fundamental and age-old Utopian dream: that if you give people the license to be as outrageous as they want in absolutely any fashion they can dream up, they'll be creative about it, and do something good besides.

—Lester Bangs, *New Musical Express*, 24 Dec. 1977



Michel Chevalier

IT'S FUN
TO BE NICE
TO PEOPLE

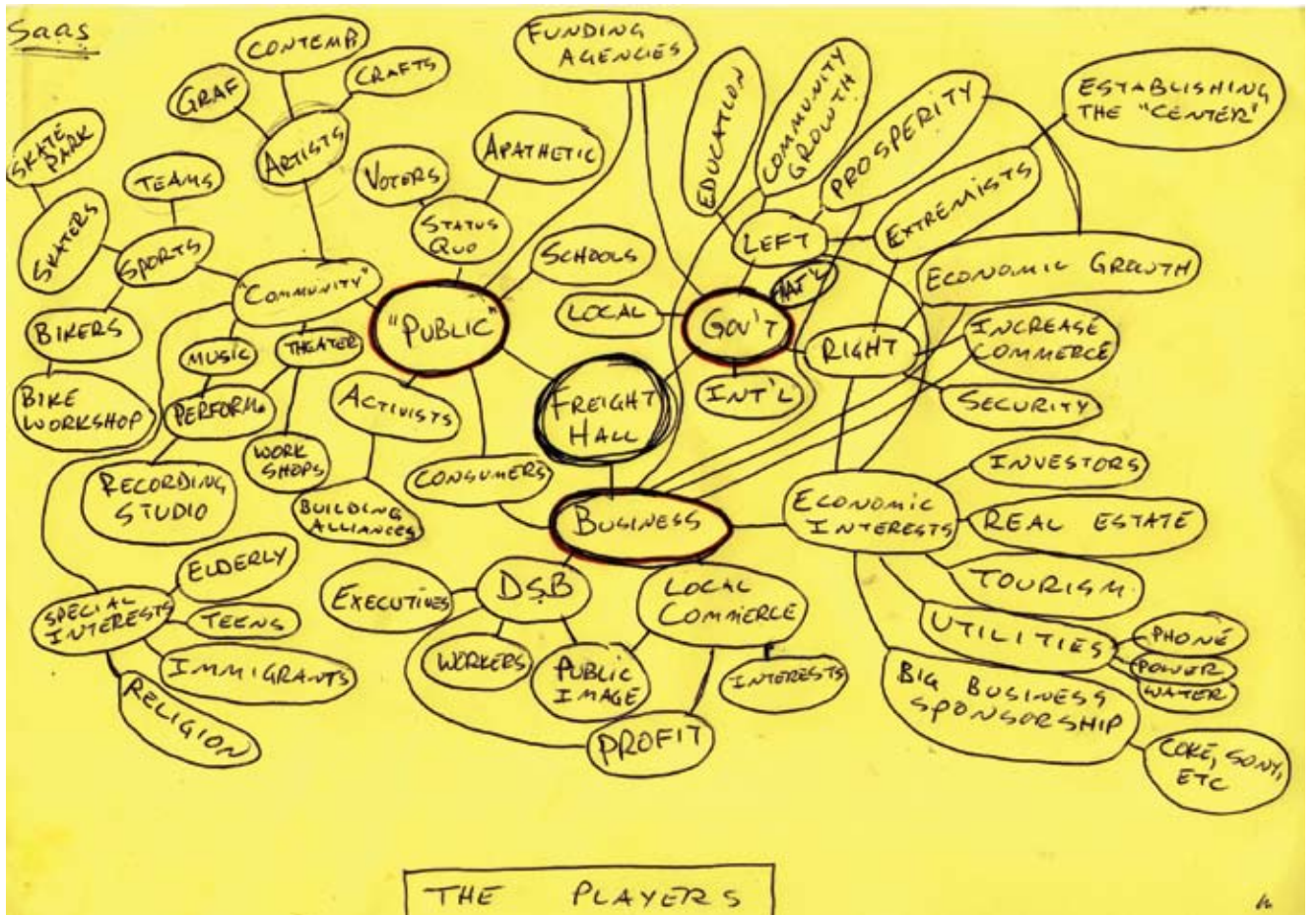




Oda Projesi



Section 8



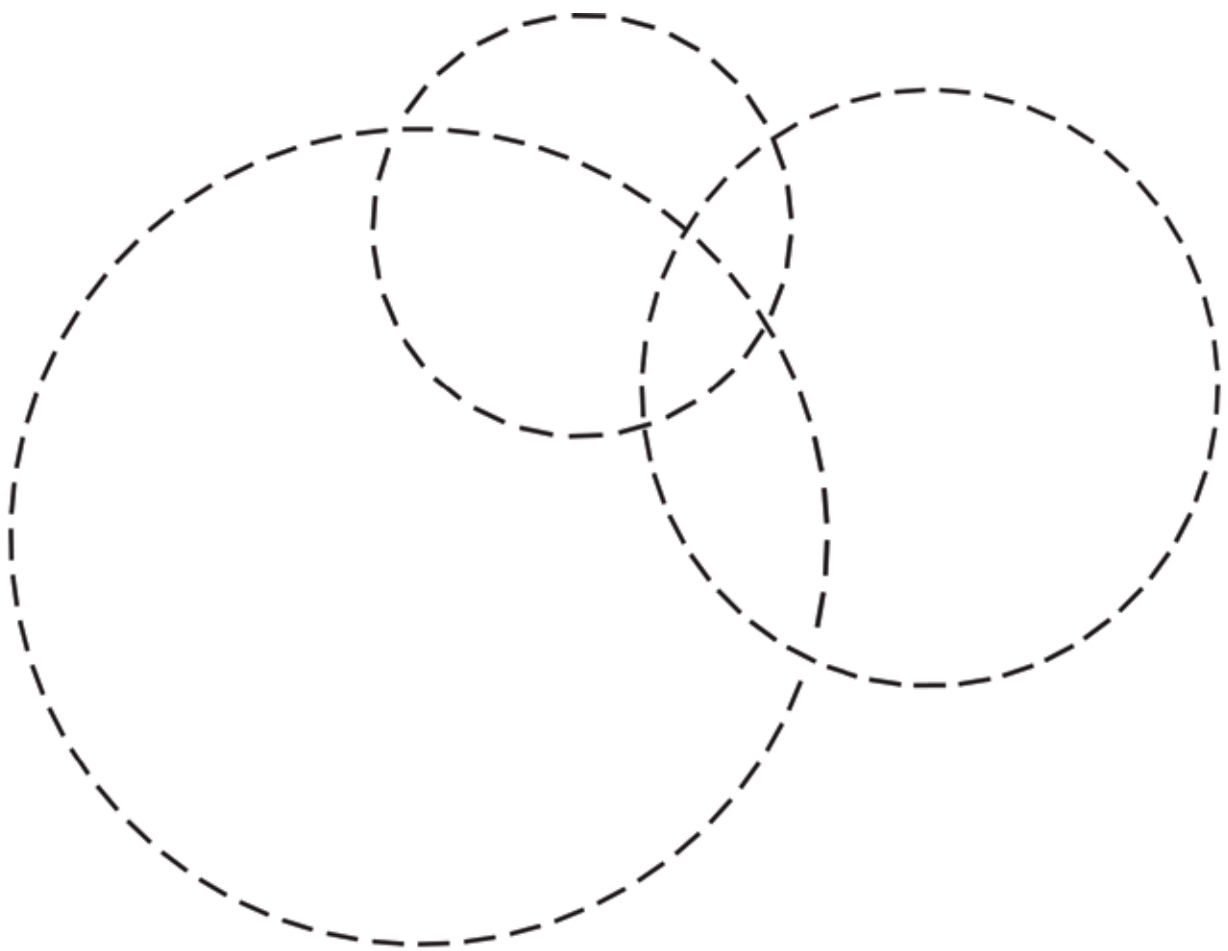


when the conquerors came, there was a torrential rain, and so they clothed us

so sad

if it had been a sunny day, we would have wound up undressing our conquerors

Runo Lagomarsino



**ENACT GLORIOUS PHANTASM
PERFORM DESIRE PUBLIC
TO LONG FOR
FANTASIZE FOR POSSIBILITY
CONJURE NEW METHOD
A DEPRIVATIZED SEXUALITY
YOUR WANTS HERE**

AS PUBLIC SEXUALITY IS INCREASINGLY POLICED, SO IS OUR POSSIBILITY FOR DESIRING. WE CAN CONJURE THE GLORY HOLE AS AN OPEN SPACE FOR MULTIPLE SEXUALITIES AND GENDERS TO EXPRESS WHAT WE WANT FROM EACH OTHER, OUR COMMUNITIES, OUR GOVERNMENTS AND WHAT WE CAN FANTASIZE FOR OUR FUTURES. THE GLORY HOLE INVITES YOU TO IMAGINE AND ACT AGAINST THE PRIVATIZING OF OUR DESIRES AND DEMAND A PUBLIC PLATFORM FOR WANTING MORE. CRUISE.

Calif. Wed. 7. 1989

Lou Gottlieb Deeds Morning Star Ranch to a New Owner -- to God



LOU GOTTLIEB RECORDS GIFT OF MORNING STAR RANCH
Dr Gottlieb (left) Watches As Recorder Snyder Stamps

The state, however, would allow no trust to be held in the deity!
Gottlieb sought to enable LAND ACCESS TO WHICH NO ONE CAN BE DENIED- keep land open for stewardship, for healing, for subsistence use and for finding its own ecology.

Sarah Lewison



reinstating the commons

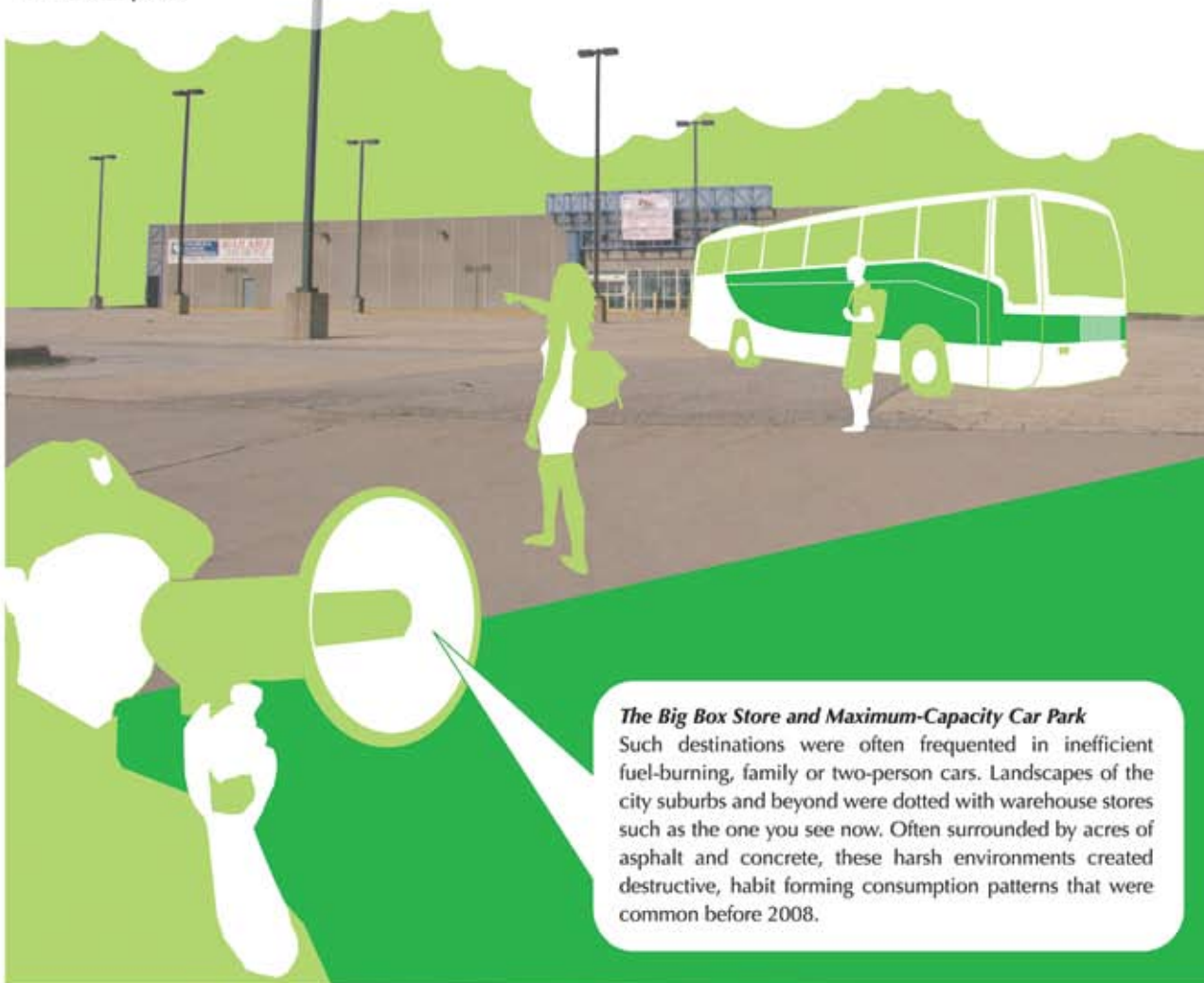
While capitalism have traditionally used the environment as an endless resources to be exploited, man made climate change makes it evident that the external costs in terms of pollution, privatization or entire elimination of public goods is unsustainable. This makes the total failure of capitalism obvious to all and will change how we build our cities, use and access land, air and water, think of public goods and live our everyday life. What used to be alternatives will be the future.

Nis Rømer

THE GREAT DISASSEMBLY NATIONAL PRESERVE

National Historical Administration

The **Disassembly of 2008** was the result of pedestrians, bikers, and bus riders alike, dismantling car infrastructures in the U.S.: highways, drive-thrus, parking lots and garages, gas stations, suburbs, malls, gated communities, car manufacturing plants, oil changing stations, rest stops, tire plants - all were disassembled to accommodate today's greenways, foot paths, bus and biking lanes. The **Disassembly Tour** is a nationwide effort to remember *Places of the Past*. Shrouded in myth and mystery since its transformation, the Great Disassembly is still misunderstood today. Often considered *dead, barren, and desolate*, visitors are surprised to find these historic sites full of *marvel and wonder*. The **Great Disassembly National Preserve** provides a glimpse into our vehicular history, and invites tourists to learn from our past.

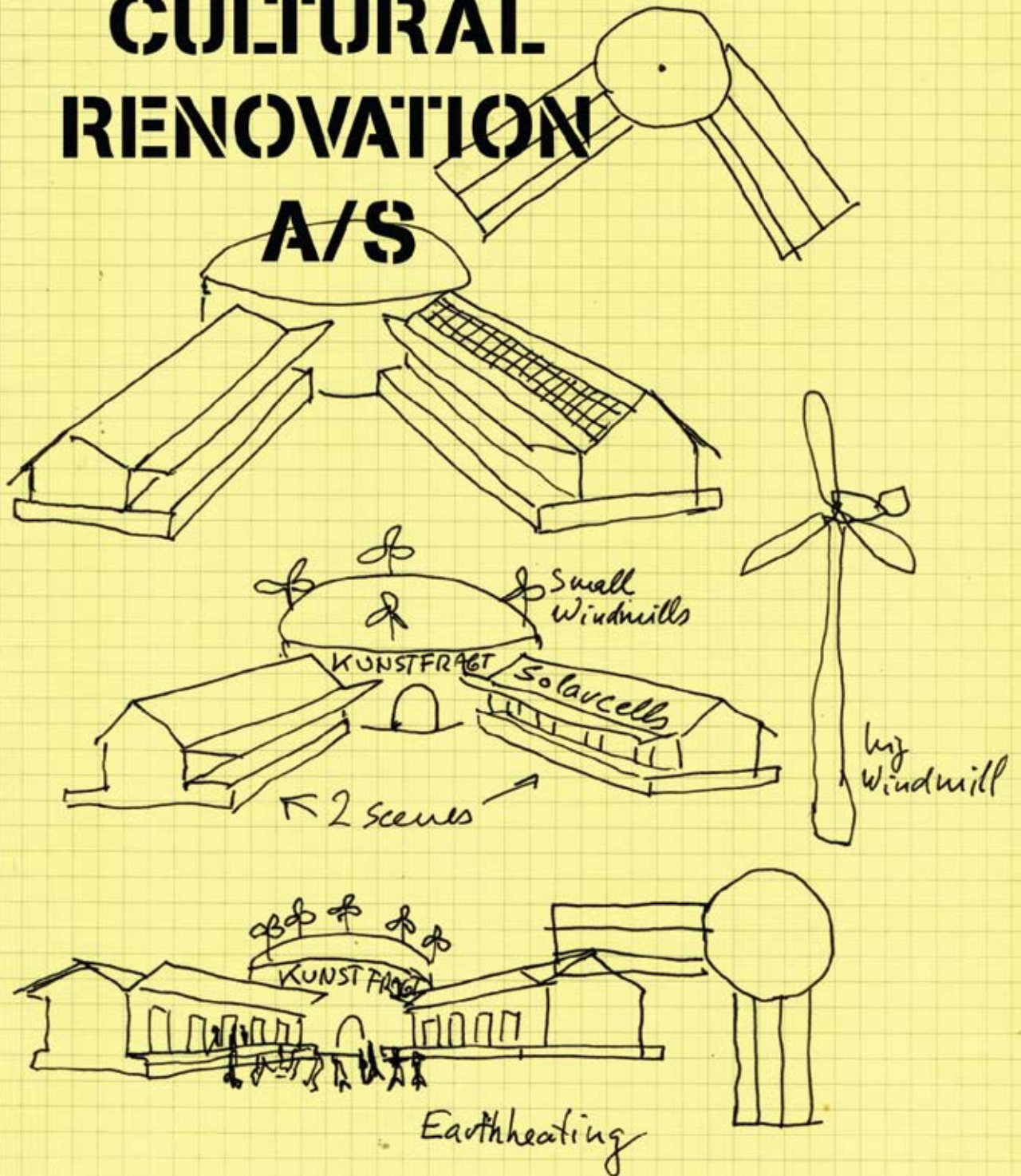


The Big Box Store and Maximum-Capacity Car Park

Such destinations were often frequented in inefficient fuel-burning, family or two-person cars. Landscapes of the city suburbs and beyond were dotted with warehouse stores such as the one you see now. Often surrounded by acres of asphalt and concrete, these harsh environments created destructive, habit forming consumption patterns that were common before 2008.

Ryan Griffis and Sarah Ross

CULTURAL RENOVATION A/S



REUSE THE FREIGHTHALLS

POLITICAL

it isn't magic

MEDICINE

it was made

IS BAD

and fought for

MEDICINE

and given to all

The phrase "political medicine is bad medicine" is from a poster from a strike by Canadian doctors in 1962. They were opposing the development of the public health care system, which grew out of union hospitals and other local, grassroots initiatives before being legislated. Public health care has been opposed every step of the way by pharmaceutical companies, business, and now, politicians who are now attempting privatization measures.

Peter Conlin and Kirsten Forkert



Mogens Otto Nielsen



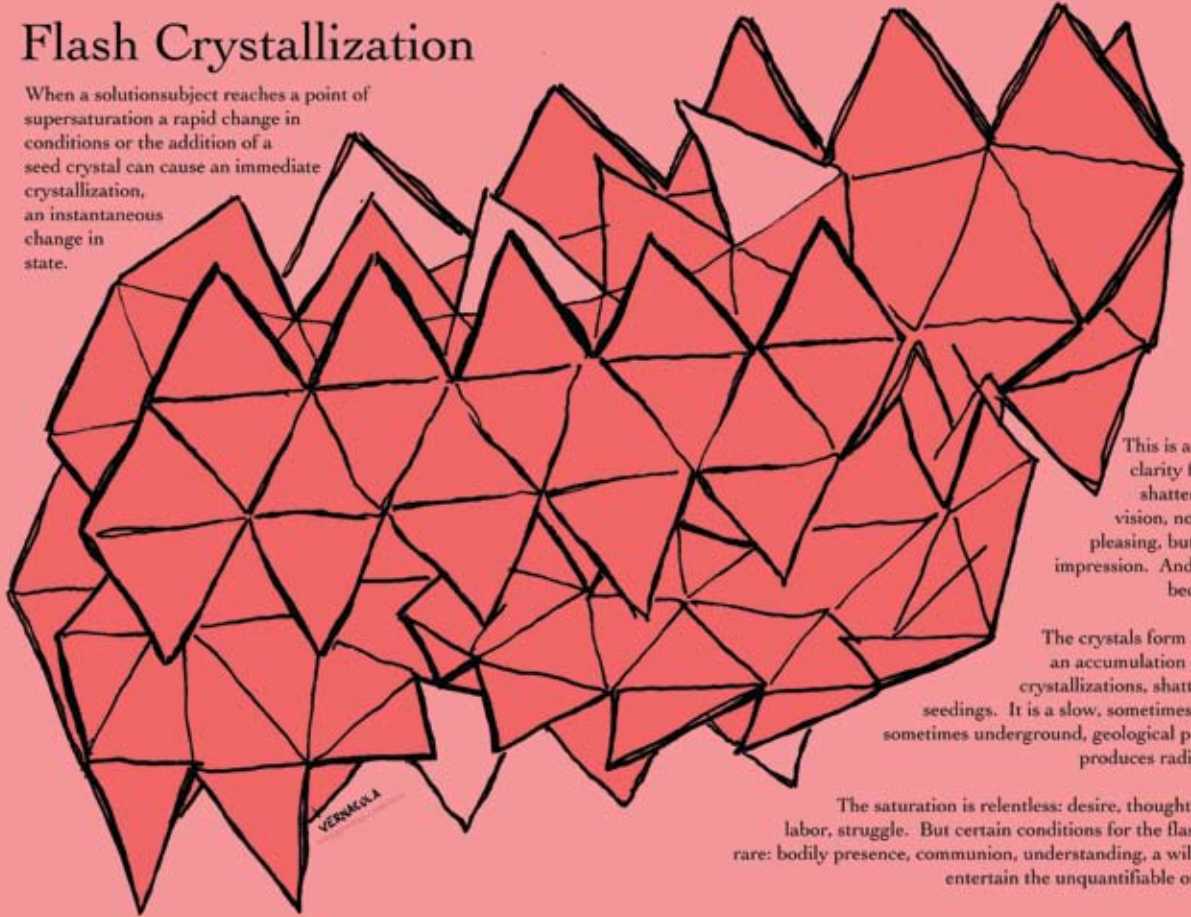
Copenhagen Free University

WE SEEK
A LOWER
STANDARD
OF
LIVING FOR
A HIGHER
QUALITY
OF LIFE

Brett Bloom & Bonnie Fortune,
Let's Re-make

Flash Crystallization

When a solution subject reaches a point of supersaturation a rapid change in conditions or the addition of a seed crystal can cause an immediate crystallization, an instantaneous change in state.

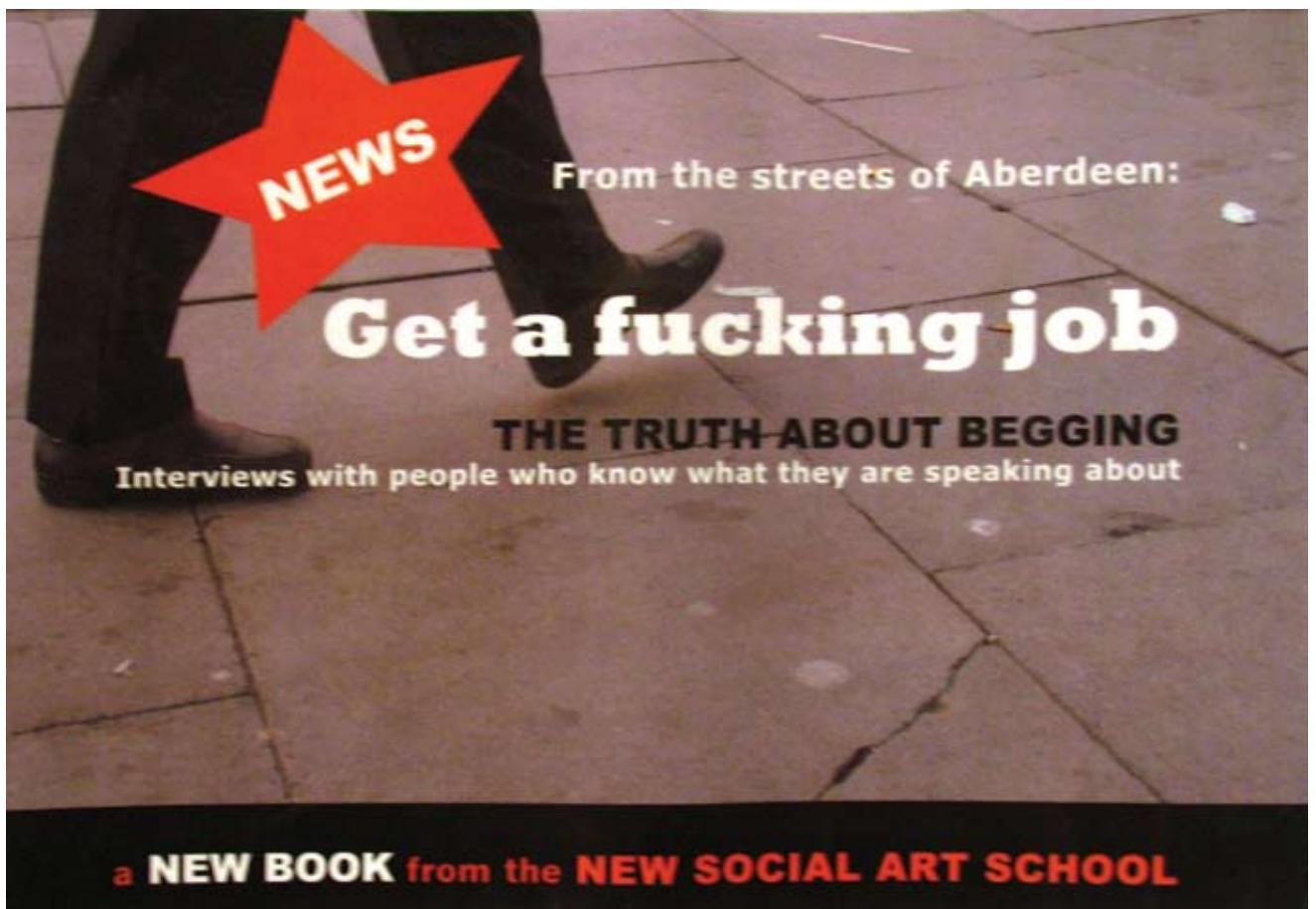


This is a moment of clarity followed by shattering. It is a vision, not always so pleasing, but leaving an impression. And the shards become seeds.

The crystals form aggregates, an accumulation of localized crystallizations, shatterings, and seedings. It is a slow, sometimes deliberate, sometimes underground, geological process, that produces radical change.

The saturation is relentless: desire, thought, dreaming, labor, struggle. But certain conditions for the flash are more rare: bodily presence, communion, understanding, a willingness to entertain the unquantifiable or irrational.

Network of Causal Art



New Social Art School

DISMANTLE

★ WE

CORPORATE

LANDSCAPE

Nicolas Lampert

**VARFÖR GÖR KOMMUNEN INGET
ÅT CYANIDEN I MARKEN?
RING 0046 +(0)40 341000**



MARKAKTIV

Markaktiv

WE FOUND IT



GLEANNING

Do you ever feel like there is an abundance of stuff just going to waste in our society?

First mentioned in the Old Testament, gleaning originally meant collecting leftover crops from fields. This was pictured in Jean Francois Millet's 1857 painting "The Gleaners." Today it has come to mean the collecting of things that others have thrown away. You can see this practiced everyday in almost every single community throughout the world; from cardboard recyclers to alu-

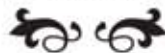
minum can collectors, furniture finders on trash night to those who feed the hungry by collecting surplus food from restaurants and groceries.

Why do good things go to waste? Because surplus is an inherent and necessary part of a capitalist economy. Capitalism considers the throwing away of millions of tons of trash every day "efficiency." Usually more money can be made on "waste management," the collecting of trash and waste, then on the redistribution of edible or re-usable items. In the global south, entire communities have developed that survive collected different forms of excess. In the US, tens of thousands of people live off of collecting paper and metals

to recycle. In addition, large groups live off of what is often termed "dumpster diving," the digging through trash to find food that is still healthy but has been thrown away, often because it has a past expiration date.

For over 20 years, in dozens of cities worldwide, Food Not Bombs has been collecting food that would otherwise be wasted and cooking and serving it for free. The internet has introduced new tools to gleaners, in particular craigslist.org and other networking sites connect hundreds of thousands of people who have leftover or extra items with those that want or need them. For more information on gleaning, see:

www.foodnotbombs.net
www.freecycle.org
www.dumpsterworld.com
www.craigslist.org



The Samaras Project is a creative exploration of the many alternative economic systems and forms of exchange that exist side by side with capitalism. While capitalism's goal is the accumulation of profits, these other economies aim toward sustainability and fulfilling human needs. The Samaras Project also works closely with the Anti-Advertising Agency.

www.samarasproject.net
www.antiadvertisingagency.com

The above illustration is based on a photograph of a cardboard gleaning truck in San Francisco.
Source photo: Andrew Schoultz. Illustration: Josh MacPhee



SAMARASPROJECT.NET

Samaras Project



Mess Hall, Chicago, IL, January 18, 2008

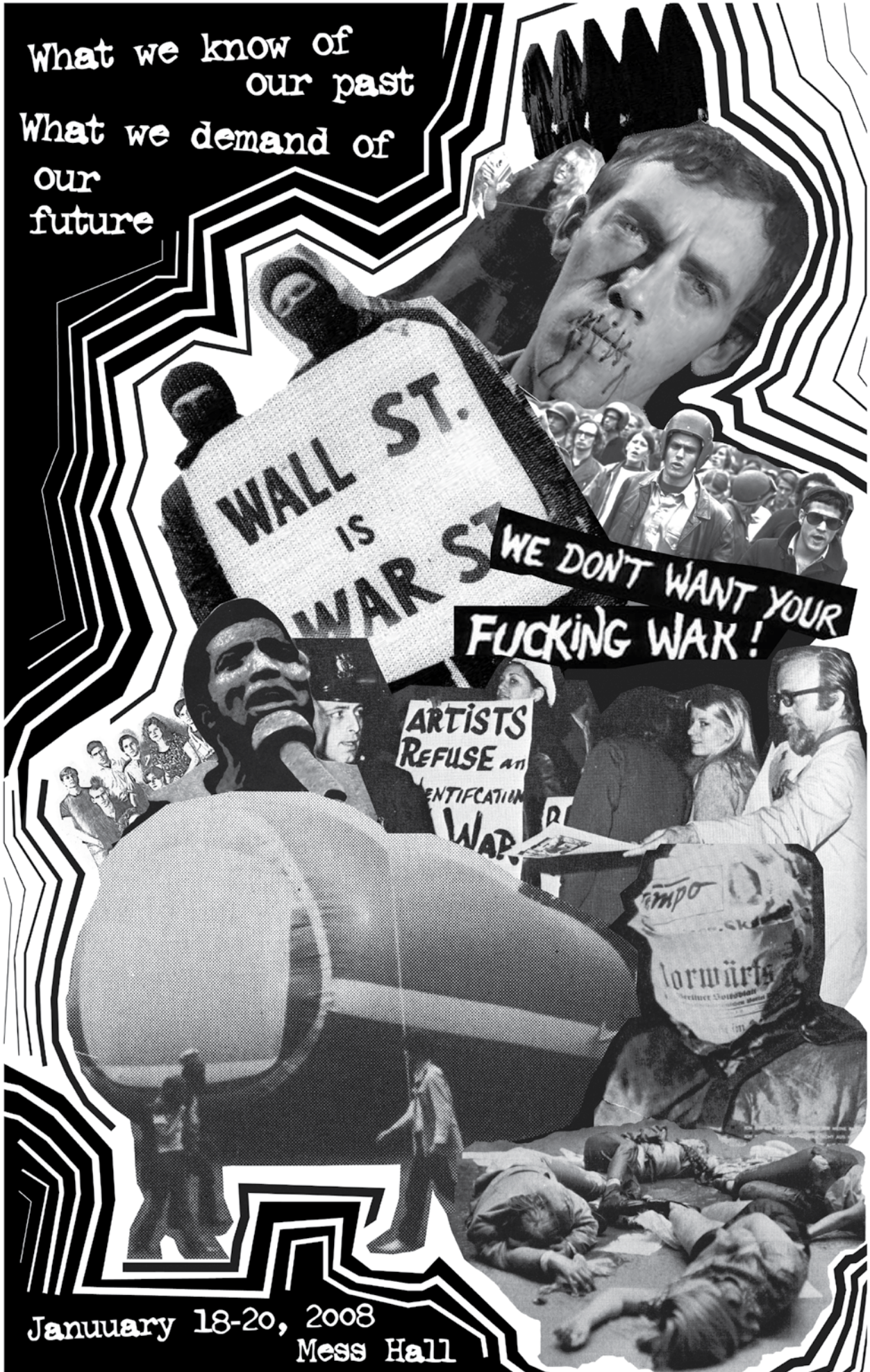


Mess Hall, Chicago, IL, January 18, 2008

WHAT WE KNOW OF
OUR PAST / WHAT
WE DEMAND OF OUR
FUTURE

January 18-20, 2008 Mess Hall Chicago

What we know of
our past
What we demand of
our
future



January 18-20, 2008
Mess Hall

What we know of our past / What we demand of our future
The Library of Radiant Optimism and Mess Hall
By Bonnie Fortune and Brett Bloom

What we Know of Our Past-What we demand of our Future was a three-day gathering at Mess Hall, in Chicago, from January 18th to January 20th in 2008. We co-organized the weekend with Ydre Nørrebro Kultur Bureau (YNKB). It was our hope to activate the continuum of past and present radical cultural production by drawing attention to the dialogical practices, political and socially engaged art, and sustainable living experiments of the 60s and 70s counter-culture movement and those working in comparable capacities today. We envisioned the weekend as an opportunity to put aside our more-or-less individual pursuits and to build collective resistance to deeply troubling larger problems and general malaise. The weekend was for sharing work, thinking about important historical activities, and finding a way forward that can sustain us and challenge the dominant culture. Our current anxieties about environmental devastation, gas and food shortage, and an unjust war, are paralleled in the cultural and political climate of the late sixties and early seventies. However, we feel that an important difference between then and now is in the absence of a massive collective counter-cultural movement for change that people could readily identify with. We are interested in the possibilities that could be achieved with collective organizing and creative projects. Having been a part of and aware of several larger conversations happening across the country amongst fellow activist/artist folks, we needed to come together, to do something—anything. Many people felt a crisis within their work—that it somehow was not doing enough, whatever it was supposed to be doing. This was a perfect time to come together, share what we were all up to, and to begin to really talk about what we do and how it might not be achieving what we want it to.

The Library of Radiant Optimism the starting point for organizing the gathering, is as an archive and catalogue of a groundswell of optimistic and visionary activities of the late sixties and early seventies. The books are fraught with the conflicts of personality and contradictory visions that still plague communities organizing for change today. Still, we remain excited by the complicated positions these books hold, and the possibility to glean knowledge from the experiments detailed in the books. Written with imperfect optimism, a willingness to put aside differences and work slowly on long-term projects shines through. The books, written in a time when many people were working together to re-make the world against an inherited, bankrupt cold-war culture, provide a nuanced understanding of what could constitute a revolution. We want to call attention to all the hard work, visionary projects, and the continuity with creative activism happening today.

We, Brett Bloom and Bonnie Fortune, had discussions off and on in the context of our respective practices, about the similarities between a handful of books we knew of, and Mess Hall—an experimental cultural center in Chicago that we both were active in for over three years. Mess Hall is organized around an “economy of generosity.” Its freely shared culture, information and materials build a social model that is counter to the current exploitative environment created by the mandatory consumerism that shapes most of our interactions with one another. We see the books in the Library, written from a counter-cultural perspective by authors interested in communicating their direct experience of building sustainable communities, as important precursors to Mess Hall. We also see relationships between the artistic and activist practices of the weekend’s speakers between Mess Hall and these histories. The practices of participants are inspirations for, sustainers, supporters, creators, and contributors to this culture and these histories. The following texts and images briefly represent their strong and eloquent voices.

CREATING COMMUNITY INFRASTRUCTURE THROUGH ACTIVIST RESEARCH

by AREA Chicago

AREA (Art/Research/Education/Activism) is a publication and event series in Chicago. While the main project is an attempt to document, challenge and strengthen the local political and cultural left, there is also an emphasis on researching the conditions of this context.

- What are the things we mean and want when we say we? What are critical approaches to the commonplace political concept of solidarity? (AREA #3)



When we started this project in 2005, there was a feature article in the Economist hailing Chicago as a “post-industrial success story.” This declaration was curious and conflicted significantly with our experiences and observations. So one question that was able to inform the development of AREA as an activist research project was a slight reframing – “Is Chicago a post-industrial success story?”

- In contexts where more and more Chicagoans are entrapped in the expanding industry of mass incarceration, how can meaningful, visionary and practical changes to the criminal justice system occur? (AREA #4)

There is much disagreement amongst the local business elite and academics alike about whether Chicago qualifies as a “global city.” While this status distinction is unimportant for AREA and can be seen as a rhetorical strategy linked to place marketing and encouraging competition between cities, the qualities that compose urban life in work and play at this point in capitalist development are considered important. One approach we have used to examine this is a conceptual limiting strategy that is borrowed from literary traditions – if you limit and focus the framework to a specific area or topic, then you can more fully explore that area and find your way into complex ideas through that lens. In our work, Chicago is the lens through which we view the complexities of an increasingly mobile capitalism.

- What is the role of education and pedagogy in strengthening social movements? (AREA #5)

- How do experimental policies turn the city into a social and economic laboratory? (AREA #6)

- What kinds of logics and strategies do contemporary social movements inherit from their predecessors, especially the New Left and Counter-Culture Left of the late 1960s/early 1970s? (AREA #7)

Here are some of the questions we have asked using the platform of AREA Chicago’s “Local Readers” publication series:

- What kind of infrastructure of services and resources do we need when our welfare state is in disrepair and being increasingly privatized? (AREA #1)

- What kind of food policy can we create to make sure that people of the city are healthy enough to pursue organization? (AREA #2)

In addition to publishing online and in print, AREA circulates this research by participating in local coalitions and alliances alongside connecting to regional and international networks and gatherings such as Continental Drift, the Radical Midwest Cultural Corridor, “This is Forever” Autonomous Marxist lecture series (NYC), Version fest, Spatial Justice lecture series (Los Angeles), the National Conference on Organized Resistance, Re:Activism (Budapest), Urban Fest (Zagreb), Learning Site (Copenhagen) and many others. Through the lens of critical practices place in Chicago, we can provide a case study in the current shape and trends of left cultural and political organizing in the early part of the 21st century. We can offer a different narrative of Chicago to the world than a “post industrial success story” or a “global city” – we can present a city where the shit has hit the fan and people are creating the infrastructure that is necessary to take control of the fragile conditions of their lives and environment.

Areachicago.org | areachicago@gmail.com

A CHEAP MANIFESTO

by CAFF

5 Uses of Cheap Art in a Bored Nation at War

1. Cheap art travesties the epic & makes epic the small gesture. Its obscene materiality calls attention to the mechanics of a system of all-round material dependence. There is only make.

2. Cheap art refuses air shows & other slick abstractions. As in IVAW formations, it recycles embodied governance, improvising spectacles with the material at hand.

3. Cheap art, like soup or bread, never panders to the critics. It enjoys the margins' complicated pleasures. Gesturing mouth to mouth. Singing hand to hand. Brothers & sisters its about time. Arise discomfited spirit of 69! If you feel this join our 69/09 samizdat list! Write to CAFF Collective, PO Box 269164 Chicago, IL60626 or email CAFFCollective@gmail.com.

4. Save our beautiful boys! Bring *all* troops home now!

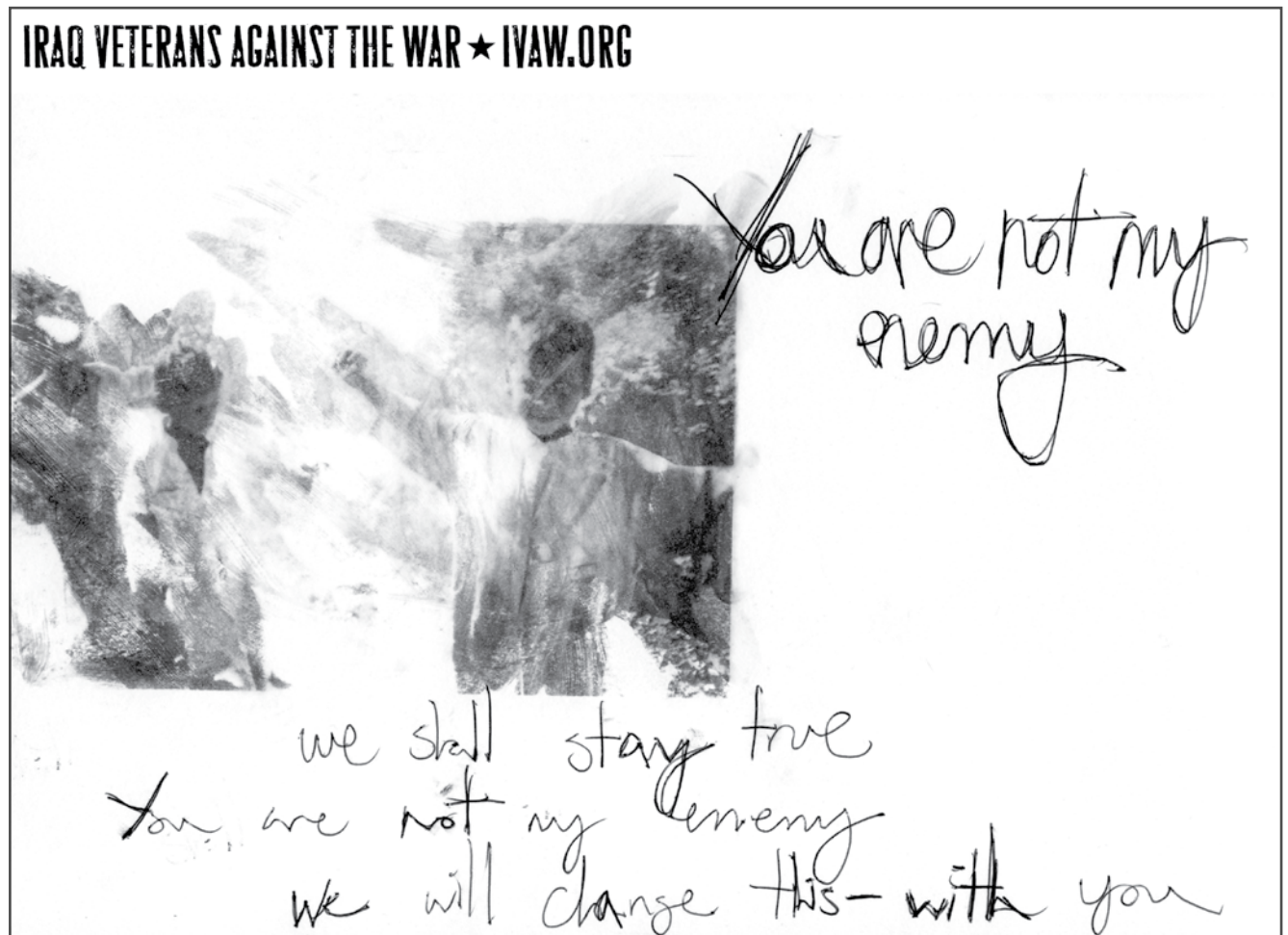
5. Cheap art builds stages, provides shelters. An anti-war rally in the Cornell University gymnasium, 1970. When the door was opened for the prophet Elijah during a kind of Passover peace ceremony, Dan Berrigan came in, onto the stage. FBI

agents rushed towards him but all the lights went out. When they came back on, Berrigan was gone. He had hidden inside a huge puppet belonging to the Bread & Puppet Theater group, and was carried out along with the other giant puppets onto a waiting truck. Cheap art as shield, cover, camouflage, epic.

Cheap art reanimates the human hand
There is only make Humble presence of joyful labor
Plastic Flowers Against the War

CHEAP ART for FREEDOM

We have not lost everything because we lost today.
pretty small utopia #4



FEEL TANK

A **feel tank** is a scene for thinking about the ways that **affect** and **emotion** are connected to the building of worlds, the perpetuation of publics, and the **pleasures** and activities of living in the social – from the intimacies between lovers and friends to neighborhoods, networks, and activist groups. For us in Chicago, it means thinking about the sociality of emotion in relation to the activity of **power**. We view the **negative emotions** – from detachment to rage – as expressions of a desire for the political to be a space for **optimism**, for justice, for lives worth living, now.

everyday. (Sometimes this is expressed as anonymity, sometimes as **SOLIDARITY**, perhaps an **EXQUISITE CORPSE**.) It means taking **RISKS** while minding how one's urges can cover others' tracks.

The world presents us with an endless "state of emergency." We try to balance the need for swift responses and complex articulation, **URGENCY** in the face of violence as well as analytic depth. We know we are late, possibly too late, that we are always running out of **TIME**... Sometimes the only response is **REFUSAL**: a deep inarticulate ob-



Sometime around 2002, a friend asked us how to make a feel tank, so we thought we'd make a feel tank tool kit. The **Feel Kit** is a keywords resource for political imaginaries and praxis – a lexicon of political emotions, associations, detours, digressions, and disquisitions. Its **keywords** are open for anyone to revise, unpack, expand, transform, and enrich. (See <feeltankchicago.net> and <utopianfutures.uchicago.edu>)

AFFINITY: What groups and people can have. Not sameness, but connection to, alliance with, respect and affection for, a desire to ally with for awhile, a way to become a bigger thorn in the side of power. Ad-finis, joining one's boundaries to those of others.

To **COLLABORATE** demands reshaping one's identity to advance collective agency: losing and finding oneself in a group, a conversation, a struggle that might eclipse the particular, the singular, the

duracy, a (ma)lingering moan, a rebellious, impromptu shout, a mild "I prefer not to." See **APATHY, MELANCHOLY, PROTEST**.

Holding onto a **FEELING** might not be "blockage." You don't have to "turn your grief into anger" or "get over it."

DEPRESSION: it might be political! Depression: a position. Depression: an effect of abuse. A modern form of melancholy: "an imbalance of the humors often associated with artists and intellectuals. An excess of black bile sometimes cured by bloodletting. The incorporation of an un-mourned lost object." The blues. Something chemical, maybe irrational. **WHATEVER**. An appropriate response to what's hard. A place to push off from.

What's your **UTOPIA** in need of a rescue?

InCUBATE is an experimental Chicago-based research institute, started by Bryce Dwyer, Roman Petruniak, Ben Schaafsma, and Abigail Satinsky. We are dedicated to developing new models for funding and supporting artistic production using creative and non-traditional administrative practices. For two years now, InCUBATE has undertaken a number of projects, including operating a storefront that houses a residency program which brings international artists to Chicago every month; organizing a traveling exhibition in five cities throughout the country; facilitating the exchange of mail art; selling home-brewed beer; and administering the Sunday Soup grant program. InCUBATE does not have non-profit status, instead we are interested in developing work patterns that are capable of circumventing many of the commonly held truisms of non-profit management, especially the incessant desire for organizational growth and the notion that institutional success can and should be measured quantitatively. While exploring our own process of becoming a research institute, we become a resource for others by generating and sharing a new vocabulary of practical solutions to the everyday problems of producing under-the-radar culture.

practices that may not be eligible for formal funding. The questions InCUBATE is asking through the framework of the Sunday Soup Grant Program are pointed and challenging, but we are also concerned that this inquiry extends beyond



The Sunday Soup grant program is a collaborative, entrepreneurial business-like structure. It is one model of arts funding that we use in order to support our own creative community and ourselves. It started over a year ago as a weekly meal, hosted at InCUBATE's storefront space. Guest chefs cook simple soups using local ingredients. Soup is sold for \$5 per bowl. At the end of each month, the soup income is given as a grant to support a creative project. Visitors who purchase soup also earn a spot on the grant selection committee. All of the grant proposals are emailed to Sunday Soup patrons, and a popular vote determines the grant recipient. Sunday Soup, while raising money, also serves as a way to build a network of support that reaches beyond purely monetary assistance. Guest chefs prepare soup, organize presentations and engage visitors in conversation. In this way, Sunday Soup becomes an open platform to discuss ongoing projects with new audiences, meet new collaborators, and share ways of working.

the rhetorical basis for our program model. We imagine Sunday Soup as a much-needed and necessarily local gathering space to begin talking about the kinds of alternative economies we want to create, both on the macro- and micro-scale. We want to actively examine the ways in which we are implicated and accountable within the economies of culture. Although Sunday Soup is rooted in the local, its framework is easily adaptable to different contexts and situations. Sunday Soup programs are now operating in Mexico City, MX and Newcastle, UK, and Grand Rapids, MI. As the network of participants grows and expands, InCUBATE's continued research raises questions and reflects upon how to imagine and organize collective models for funding creative projects that are transparent, participatory, and operate on a social as well as financial level.

* * * * *

Sunday Soup, though convivial, is explicitly functional as a way of generating independent funding for cultural producers, and implicitly critical as a way of generating conversation about the availability and distribution of resources within the mainstream arts establishment. In an environment where governmental support for experimental art practice is minimal at best, and private support is dictated by the values and priorities of granting foundations, innovative and potentially controversial work is compromised in order to fit within categories deemed "fundable." With Sunday Soup, community participation in the grant funding and selection process is key. Applying for a grant is intentionally simple and un-bureaucratic in order to encourage broad participation. This enables InCUBATE to stimulate and promote experimental, critical and imaginative

Ben Schaafsma, 26, our collaborator and friend, passed away on October 25, 2008. Ben believed that if a desirable resource didn't exist, there was no reason to wait for someone else to put it in place. Leading by example, he taught us that a good idea need not remain only an idea. He believed that people could produce meaningful and lasting change with little more than their own goodwill and enthusiasm. Ben was constantly working things out, always questioning, always critical, and always dedicated to helping InCUBATE grow. In turn, he expected nothing less from each of us. Together we learned a new way of seeing, a unique approach to art & life, the challenge to do-it-yourself, to make something from nothing, and the knowledge that we can do it together. His vision kept us on track and his generosity kept us humble. We are all better off for having known him. He will be missed.

PEOPLE POWERED

1. Collection. Solicit donations of latex paint from your local community. Flyers and email help spread the word about collection and recycling. Consider working with a local neighborhood group to organize a drop-off day at a public meeting place.

2. Sorting. As paint is collected, sort it by color (greens, blues, yellows, whites, etc.) making sure no oil-based



paints have been collected.

3. Processing. Strain sorted colors into 5-gallon plastic buckets using fabric paint strainers—with a single bucket dedicated to each color (red, green, yellow, white, etc.). Once all the paint has been strained, mix each individual color thoroughly.

4. Packaging. Repackage paint in epoxy-lined quart and gallon paint cans (available at hardware stores). Mark with label identifying color of paint and painting instructions. Loop Limited labels can be downloaded from peoplepowered.org

5. Distribution. Paint may be used just like any other latex paint. Give away, barter, sell or donate to local community organizations. NOTE: Oil-based paints CANNOT be mixed with latex paints. Please consult your local environmental agency about proper oil-based paint disposal.

STARTING A PAINT RECYCLING PROGRAM

Latex paint is often purchased in greater quantities than needed. The average household annually stockpiles 1 to 3 gallons of unused paint which often improperly enters the waste stream. Latex paint must be completely dried out before being discarded, and must not be poured down the drain. To eliminate paint surplus, it can be reused or



reprocessed to make a high-quality, recycled paint. People Powered collected unused latex paint from local sources and recycled it into high-quality interior paints. The result, Loop Limited, was mixed in small batches and re-packaged for free distribution. Loop Limited is 100% post-consumer material removing surplus from our wastestream.

people powered creates actions designed to integrate art and social exchange in our shared environment. peoplepowered.org

CONTAMINATING CULTURES

by Temporary Travel Office

In the late 1920s, the mayor of Jacksonville, FL, John T. Alsop, decided that the city would be divided into six districts and that they would “locate colored districts adjacent to incinerators.” “Colored districts” referred, of course, to neighborhoods predominantly populated by African American residents, and “incinerators” were solid waste incinerators - large facilities for the burning of the city’s refuse. During the first half of the 20th Century, all manner of household and industrial materials were burned, producing ash laden with glass, dioxin, lead, mercury, arsenic and other noxious compounds. The decision to locate the production and storage of this toxic material in and around “colored districts” is only one instance of the materialization of racial ideology, and the physical reality created by those past policies has not yet been overcome nor rendered historical.

In Jacksonville, “Colored districts” may no longer exist by mayoral mandate, and solid waste incinerators may no longer function, but the geography of inequity hasn’t changed all that much in the past 80 years. From the 1950s, until as late as 1995, schools and parks were built and operated on the ground formerly occupied by incinerators and ash dumps. While some of the schools on the most contaminated land have recently closed, others continue to operate. It may have been a political decision in the 1920s that placed toxic waste within communities of color, but it has been 80 years of public policy and ideology that have continued to keep those past inequities alive yet invisible. It was not until the Federal and State environmental agencies became involved in the 1990s that these sites would become publicly acknowledged. While the US EPA has rather arbitrarily called three of them the “Jacksonville Ash Sites,” there are five others in the same geographic area, totaling over 261 acres of contaminated land.

Meanwhile, a few years before the Mayor Alsop administration’s creation of “colored only” toxic waste sites, others around the city were mobilizing to memorialize Jacksonville’s colonial history. Several miles East of the ash sites, in 1924, the Daughters of the American Revolution unveiled a granite obelisk in honor of the French Huguenot entrepreneur Jean Ribault’s landing in Jacksonville in 1562. This visualization of the city’s role in the mythic development of the “New World” would eventually lead to the creation of the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve in 1988. The preserve’s boundaries enclose 47,000 acres, a vast tract of ecosystems managed by federal, state, city and private landholders. Some of the key sites included within the preserve include: a slightly scaled down model exhibit of the French Fort Caroline, the Jean Ribault Monument, Kingsley Plantation - one of the most intact examples of the slave plantation system from the 18th-19th centuries, and vast tracts of Florida wetlands and forests with hiking trails.

The Preserve is named for the cultures that inhabited the area at the time of French and Spanish arrival, the Timucua. Having become extinct by the middle of the 18th century (as far as the record is concerned), the Timucua are treated by the Preserve as mythic namesakes that provide an allegorical lesson about cultural conflict. As the National Park Service puts it:

The lesson to be learned from the existence and disappearance of the Timucuan People is that in a clash of cultures ultimately one group, no matter how advanced or well established, may vanish.

In 2006, the Temporary Travel Office took on the unsolicited job of evaluating the historical and ecological condition of the Timucuan Preserve. We took on the job with two particular goals, and one objective, in mind. One goal was to analyze and research ecological and historical narratives surrounding, but left out of the Preserve’s depiction of the region. The other was to produce proposals, some realizable and others fantastically rhetorical, that introduce such narratives into the space of the Preserve. Our sole objective is to symbolically and imaginatively alter the geography



of the Timucuan Preserve, expanding its boundaries and opening up the histories and ecologies that are considered significant and worth preserving. To these ends, our most ambitious proposal is for a 42 square mile noncontiguous addition to the Preserve called the “Ash Site Annex.” This annex encompasses 8 incinerator-related contaminated sites, as well as sites related to the black liberation movement and European colonization. The Ash Site Annex attempts to turn the “clash of civilizations” rhetoric in on itself by revealing unresolved conflicts occurring within our own supposed civilization.

MOUNDS AND HOLES

by Laurie Palmer

For the past few years I have been immersed in a research and writing project based on visits to sites of industrial mineral extraction in the U.S. The 18 chapters are written mostly in past tense, looking forward with a deliberate optimism to a future when our necessary and life-supporting material interactions with the earth might be accomplished with an attitude of exchange and collaboration rather than one of desperate domination. This project doesn't prescribe such changes, but is instead a kind of preamble: a wide-eyed portrait of contradictory practices at a particular time of declining empire and seemingly endless war, of dwindling resources, production changing form, and poverty and unemployment remaining extreme and unaddressed; a time when the military sucks funds from education, housing, and healthcare, effluents change the weather, and new chemicals permeate the environment and take up residence in our bodies. Each chapter is a complex net of observations, research, associations, curiosities, and hope—that in the complexities of what is, lays a potential for something else yet to be teased out. And that a literally material perspective on how our world works now is intricately, if indirectly, linked to making changes in it.

My friend Jane drove me to Joliet, IL to look for the former Blockson Chemical Company, which had made fertilizer and extracted uranium. In my research on phosphate and the Blockson Chemical Company, I confused Blockson's "Building 55," on the corner of Peterson and Brandon Roads with that of the William E. Pratt Manufacturing Company, which was the place where workers unknowingly lathed the uranium into parts for bombs. The workers not knowing what the metal was that they were turning, went home and sat on the couch covered with uranium dust. Many of them died and so did some of their family members. A prominent sign advertising "The Cellar: A Gentleman's Club" marked Peterson Road. We found "The Cellar" along with "The Legend"—a strangely enwrapped grey building, as if from a dream. Jane said the building looked as if it had melted, all the windows covered with grey tarpaper and a "Miller Lite" sign on one side. Is there something more arousing about a building that no one can see into, or out of? We couldn't find the intersection with Brandon Road, driving all the way to the Midwest Power Generating Plant surrounded by dry, freezing cornfields, and dilapidated barns. A sign posted on the corner of one field



The title shifts from day to day. When I spoke at Mess Hall in January 2008, I called it *The Abysmal Sea of Globigerina Ooze*. *Globigerinerids* are tiny animals that secrete calcium. I had visited an underground gypsum mine (calcium sulfate) in central Indiana, between Needmore and Oolitic, and I liked the sadness implicit in that title, as deep as time. Now the title is simply *Raw Materials*, with the chapters named after chemical elements. One of the elements, phosphorus, is used to make fertilizer. The telltale sign of a phosphate fertilizer plant is a huge mound of radioactive phosphogypsum called a gypstack that will never go away. Uranium makes phosphogypsum radioactive. During the Cold War, the uranium was secretly extracted during the process of making fertilizer for use in bombs.

said "zoned intensive industrial." Turning the car around, we saw a mound dotted with perfect little triangular pine trees. It looked like it might be a remediated gypstack but, as Jane said, could anything grow on a gypstack? She pulled over and I ran up the side of the mound to a single strand of barbed wire and a rusty sign saying no trespassing. It was a hole, a huge limestone quarry, lightly dusted with snow. Later we saw a gigantic, low endless, windowless, building—I thought it might be Building 55, but it was a Dollar Tree store. The sense of something hidden, of there being secrets in this landscape, had taken hold—also the sense that I had to find something—Jane had driven me all this way.



We entered a town called Rockdale, far from Peterson Road but I still hoped to find Building 55. Further up, I saw an old warehouse that was mound-shaped. The street sign next to it even said "Mound." Not Mound Street, or Mound Avenue, just Mound. We took that turn. Jane was game. We drove four blocks and the street dead-ended at a footpath. We had driven past machine shops and car repair places; ahead were woods and railroad tracks and cranes visible through the trees. Out of the car, I ran a little, not wanting to keep Jane waiting too long, plus it was cold. When the footpath ended, I climbed up onto the railroad track and I saw another mound. I walked toward it along the railroad, listening to train whistles in the distance. On the other side of the railroad tracks, through the trees, I saw a factory, and plenty of no trespassing signs. I headed towards the factory, through the winter woods, like winter woods where I grew up, the snow and brambles making loud noises. A dirt road with fresh 4-wheel-drive tracks already frozen into deep grooves, and a drainage ditch full of what I assumed was toxic effluence. Somehow I found myself on the wrong side of that ditch. This

wasn't funny or productive. I leaped the ditch and eventually found Jane back in her car. We drove around to the entrance of the plant: Johns Mansfield Roofing Systems. Jane knew of it, she said they used to make asbestos. Her friend's father had worked for them and died of asbestos poisoning. Jane's own father had also made brake linings, which contained asbestos. He had beaten her and her brother with the brake linings as a special punishment. You could see the mound through the leafless trees behind Johns Mansfield Roofing Systems. Everything seemed suspicious and at the same time blatantly exposed. We got back onto 1-80 and drove home. I found an aerial view of Blockson Chemical's gypstack on Google maps—it was still there, where we had first been looking, but we had missed one turn. Building 55, however, had been destroyed, and all that remained was a hole full of grey-green ice.

IMAGINE THAT! ALL INFRASTRUCTURE IS TRANSITIONAL

by Mike Wolf

Essential, for now

A confluence of forces, working on me at various levels of consciousness, has me living itinerantly in what is commonly referred to as the Midwest, here in the United States. I am being honest when I say that I am working to better understand the cultural and economic landscape of the rural Midwest, and in turn make or perform representations of that landscape for people who weren't there to experience it with me. Also, when I say I am working to find places where people have atypical relationships to this landscape and report back on these places, I am being truthful. At the same time, on a subtler level of consciousness, I suspect I am practicing a form of escapism or irresponsibility. There is a humorous contradiction in this drifting that is modeled at least in part on unhitched, modern-bohemian wandering, in that I have conscientiously constrained it to a region where I feel that I do have roots, an essential connection to be nurtured.

Pictures of turbines and a nuclear fortress



At Mess Hall last January, during that shimmering and exhausting weekend, I attempted to speak about some of the energy infrastructure that I observed as I have had the privilege of trav-

eling through the Midwest.

I showed pictures of the Prairie Island Nuclear Generating Plant. This plant is immediately adjacent to the Prairie Island Indian Community (A Dakota Reservation). People of the Dakota culture have been living in and migrating to this place for thousands of years. The Dakota were forcibly removed from the region during a concerted and explicitly genocidal campaign in the late 1800's, around the time that Minnesota became a state. Prairie Island is one of the tiny reservations that the surviving Dakota were relegated to as colonial invaders of Minnesota tried to destroy the last vestiges their language, economy, and educational and kinship systems. The presence of the nuclear generating facility is a stark example of how the colonial state and its people are still benefiting from the destruction of the Dakota people.

I also showed pictures of large wind turbines, a relatively new adornment of this landscape. Policy around wind power and the industry to build the infrastructure for wind power is in a fervent transitional moment, but the form that this emerging infrastructure is taking is drastically limited by the habits of the dominant economies. The energy infrastructure of late-late capitalism can be described as centralized, built around excessively expensive, large power plants, generally placed in rural areas or near otherwise marginalized, disempowered populations. The new wind infrastructure that is being built is reproducing this general arrangement. While the turbines don't seem to have any direct negative human health effects (like a nuclear generator or coal plant), the ecological impact is not totally understood. While newer turbines are certainly less hard on bird populations than the first generation turbines (or sky scrapers, for that matter, which have much greater destructive impact on migrant bird populations than any wind turbines ever have), filling the sky with whirling blades and mediating these air currents that have been flowing freely since the beginning of time will alter aerial ecology radically. It will negatively impact anything that flies through--maybe most notably hunting bats, which keep insect populations in balance. Wind lends itself to decentralized power generation, so, there is no need to have large turbines that have such a huge impact on the landscape. Building smaller scale turbines in places where aerial habitats are already altered and disturbed, in addition to being more ecologically gentle, is an approach that has potential to give more control over this emerging infrastructure to more people.

Relationships with red stone

I am working to grasp some of the changing arrangements upon the landscape of how people meet one another's needs, maintaining a sense of survival. I have been using the entry points that present themselves to me as my friends and family welcome me into the are landscape. The landscape is always people too! To imagine that the land and its resources not essentially related to people is to reproduce an important mytho-

logical precondition of colonialism and blind consumerism (two great, galloping horsemen of the apocalypses being imposed around the world).

is the imaginative world around these infrastructures that I am trying to grasp the transition from one world to another. Transition is constant. The way that we imagine it is inseparable from



There is a stone quarry in Southwestern Minnesota where people explode the red quartzite bedrock of the prairie. This pulverized material gets used to build roads, among other things. It makes durable roads due to its hardness. There is a whole area of Minnesota where the main highways have a pinkish hue from the addition of this marvelous material. Further southwest in Minnesota there is another quarry in a state park where only certain Dakota people are permitted to remove material. The people of that culture have been doing so for thousands and thousands of years. The red quartzite from this place is used to make pipes for smoking tobacco in sacred meetings where people bear their honest feelings to resolve conflicts. The pipes become their brothers. The quarry is sacred, the stones are sacred and the pipes are their sacred relatives. Needless to say there is a marked contrast between these two quarries. One leaves an imprint, like searching the forest floor for sweet, nourishing mushrooms. Another leaves an impact, a destructive crater. Imagine how roads might be different if we understood them to be our brothers. It

the outcome. Will we have brothers and sisters to live with and do the difficult task of bearing our honest feelings? Or will we have roads to escape, escape, escape from these relations?

Documents from the Ungdomshuset Revolt Copenhagen 2007

collected by Jakob Jakobsen

We are Negative

1. Stop. Stop. Stop. It is time to say stop. It is time to become negative. A break has occurred that forces us to refuse. We know very well that there are no half solutions: We have to refuse and dismiss the development occurring in Denmark right now. Stop, stop, stop. Racism, cultural homogenization and criminalisation of alternative lifestyles are official government policy. Stop this fucking madness. In the current situation it is important to express our dissent in the streets, but marching in Copenhagen is not enough and must not be confused with the long dangerous fight where we challenge the basic machinery of the state. The state is continuously shaping our lives and our bodies through its biopolitical offensive. But it is possible to discourage the state and break its will. This has happened many times throughout history, it is happening in Iraq today and it can happen here.

2. The state is a fragile mechanism, that's one of the lessons learned during the March events in Copenhagen. The confusion was evident: dark rubber skinned elephants ran galloping through the blacked out streets searching for their own shadows. They were not able to locate any kind of frontline where they could mirror their crushing and destructive power. We were not there. We had gone before the heavy movement of their machinery eventually came to a halt. There was nothing else to do for the police than to arrest coincidental bystanders; the need to catch someone, just anyone, was evident. Going back empty handed was

not an option. Now we know it: the state suffers from a serious case of sclerosis when reacting like this. It is desperately trying to hold a divided and dissolved society together by creating images of deviant subjects wearing veils, being pierced, throwing bricks or just saying 'no'. If they don't exist they are created. Stop, stop, stop.

3. It is necessary to act against the increased repression sweeping across Denmark right now. With the eviction at the Youth House the fight against alternative life forms was once more intensified. The state is no longer covering its repressive nature; it was visible for everybody who participated in the protests following March 1. The brutal militarised face of power manifested itself in front of us during these days. Heavily armed anti-terror units used against groups throwing the occasional brick; demonstrations dissolved with enormous amounts of dangerous teargas; plain clothes cops mixing with protesters attacking selected activists; helicopters hovering constantly above the roofs of the city; houses and homes raided and searched by the police; preventive arrests and several hundreds of people imprisoned in closed jails. Normalisation has shown its real face: repression.

4. The Youth House was torn down on the pretext of private property and principles of the law. Being steeped in tear gas, being raided and searched, being jailed without any reason given, we experienced these principles of the law, principles that make it hard to discern democracy from a totalitarian state. Private property is the most sacred value



Nørrebro, March 1, 2007

in a postmodern democracy, much more important than our safety or the civil right to express discontent. They say we live in a constitutional democracy but whose interests does the state represent if selected areas of Copenhagen were declared in a state of exception and the people living there had to refrain from going into the street in fear of being harassed by the long arm of the law? Even our most personal communication and text messages were all of a sudden open for investigation by the cops. No explanations. When the state has to act like this it is a sign of the state's fear of its own population. The state is on the defensive. Following the dismantling of the welfare state it is only the law and its police we meet when we face the state: We are confronted with a state in panic.

5. The police staged a street battle creating images of flying bricks and cars on fire, images that could justify their brutal conduct. The fusion of physical power and spectacle was striking during the course of events following the eviction and the confrontations, with the police hunting people through the city while filming them. The violent and spectacular action where special forces stormed the social centre at Jagtvej 69 inaugurates a new phase in the current cultural battle where no one can be safe. Terrorising is now the behaviour of the state. At Nørrebro and Christianshavn people got a taste of this new regime with declaration of a state of exception between the March 10 and 19: body searches and identity checks could hit you anywhere. That there had been no confrontations and protests for more than a week revealed the true purpose: to create fear.

6. The events in Copenhagen are connected to a broader global development. The repression sweeping across Copenhagen is just the latest step in a much more extensive campaign. Since the early 1970's we have been confronted with a conscious counter offensive against the last great working class resistance manifesting itself in the 1960's. The period after 1973 has been characterised by the emergence of neo-liberalism and it took almost 30 years before a new resistance was able to manifest itself again and challenge neo-liberalism. In the late 1990s it was no longer just one class fighting. The UPS strike in the States in 1997 and the protests of the counter globalisation movement in London and Seattle in 1999 opened a new frontline that was broadened with the wave of strikes spreading across Western Europe and the United States. The state of war¹ that the American president declared after 9/11 is an attempt to counter this development and as such it represents yet another turning point. With 'the war on terror' the repression that is organised in accordance with the needs of the economy is permanent everywhere through peacekeeping missions, police actions and humanitarian aid. In this world there is no difference between peace and war. We

now live in a permanent state of exception, a kind of generalised civil war.

7. We expect nothing from the representation in the media. No matter what is being uttered; when passed on it will be a distortion. For the media it is of pivotal importance who says what: has-been artists or opportunistic academics cannot represent the plurality of voices that are slowly making themselves audible. We are many and our cacophonous voices all of a sudden shatter what is called the public sphere but which is in reality nothing but a closed circuit of spin, advertising and detached political phrases. Remember: We are more than they say and we say something they don't understand. We are negative.

Imaginary Fraction
Cph. May 1. 2007

WE ARE NEGATIVE

1. Stop. Stop. Stop. It is time to say stop. It is time to become negative. A break has occurred that forces us to refuse. We know very well that there are no half solutions. We have to release and dismantle the development occurring in Denmark right now. Stop, stop, stop. Reaction, counter-reaction and a dismantling of alternative lifestyles are official government policy. Stop this fucking medicine. In the current situation it is important to express our dissent in the streets, but protesting in Copenhagen is too dangerous and must not be confused with the long dangerous fight where we challenge the basic machinery of the state. The state is continuously shaping our lives and our bodies through its ideological machine. It is its purpose to discourage the state and break it well. This has happened many times throughout history, it is happening in Iraq today and it can happen here.

2. The state is a fragile mechanism, that's one of the reasons we're here. The March events in Copenhagen. The situation was violent, dark rubber skinned sleepers ran galloping through the blocked out streets searching for their own shadows. They were not able to get a taste of this new regime with declaration of a state of exception between the March 10 and 19: body searches and identity checks could hit you anywhere. That there had been no confrontations and protests for more than a week revealed the true purpose: to create fear.

3. It is necessary to act against the increased repression sweeping across Copenhagen. Right now, with the eviction at the Youth House and the fight against alternative forms was once more intensified. The state is no longer covering its repression tactics. It was visible the emergency was participated in the protests following March 7. The brutal militarised force of police manifested itself in front of us during these days. Heavily armed anti-terror units used against groups through the occasional brick demonstration dissolved with some amount of dispersion. Protesters attacking selected activists, police officers hovering constantly above the roofs of the city houses and homes raided and searched for the police, protesters arrested and some were held in police stations imprisoned in closed jails. Normalisation was shown in real face repression.

4. The Youth House was torn down on the basis of general protests and principles of the law. Being asleep in our beds, being without any reason given, we experienced these principles of the law, principles that make it hard to discern democracy from a totalitarian state. Private property is the most sacred right to express discontent. They say we live in a constitutional democracy but whose interests does the state represent? I reacted

areas of Copenhagen were declared in a state of exception and the people living there had to refrain from going into the street in fear of being harassed by the long arm of the law? Even our most personal communication and text messages were all of a sudden open for investigation by the cops. No explanations. When the state has to act like this it is a sign of the state's fear of its own population. The state is on the defensive. Following the dismantling of the welfare state it is only the law and its police we meet when we face the state: We are confronted with a state in panic.

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Imaginary Fraction
Cph. May 1. 2007

STILL DIVIDED / STILL HOPEFUL: LESSONS FROM THE PATERSON PAGEANT OF 1913 AND THE COLLABORATION OF WORKERS, ACTIVISTS, AND ARTISTS

by Nicolas Lampert

The relationship between visual artists and the labor movement in the US has often been tenuous. Part of this is due to the limited framework that defines both categories. Artists are often assumed to be separate from other types of workers, both in their chosen profession, their class, their backgrounds, and their concerns despite the fact that the vast majority of artists occupy the bottom rung of the economic ladder by evidence of their bank accounts alone.

In a similarly limited fashion, labor movements are considered to be political movements where “cultural” concerns become a lower priority. Instead, labor activists and workers engage in serious work: organizing, building unions, engaging in the political process, and most importantly, working.

Of course, these overly simplistic reductions are problematic for they categorize art as only practiced by the elite, negate the possibility of working class artists, and assume that working class culture does not exist, or that it is substandard. Furthermore, it attempts to isolate artists from movements (and workers from art) and by creating a strict framework and code on how to act, it negates the possibilities for collaboration and the ability for artists and workers to break down these barriers. Equally important, it diminishes the idea of artists (regardless of class) from becoming involved in labor struggles and cancels out the idea that workers do not create and utilize art as an important tool for organizing and getting their message out.

These frameworks no matter how problematic they may be, however, have existed for a long time and still exist today. “Artists” and “workers” are still largely viewed as separate entities whose concerns and realities are defined by differences and not shared experiences and goals. Thus, the relationship is defined by barriers and in this manner solidarity, or the hope of solidarity and building a viable working class movement becomes a more difficult task. Thus, confronting these division and their historical roots becomes imperative.

For my presentation at “What We Know of Our Past – What We Demand of Our Future” held at Mess Hall in January of 2008, I wanted to draw attention to these larger issues by examining a specific historical moment when “artists” and “workers” came together during the Paterson Silk Workers Strike in Paterson, New Jersey. Specifically, my talk addressed the Paterson Pageant, an event that took place during the strike at Madison Square Garden on June 7, 1913 where over 1,000 striking workers and Industrial Worker’s of the World (IWW) leaders played the roles of themselves as they reenacted the past three months of their struggle. What interested me so much about the Pageant was the three

sides – the silk workers (primarily recent immigrants from Eastern Europe), IWW union strike organizers, and avant-garde artists and intellectuals from New York’s Greenwich Village that collaborated on this production.

In presenting this history, I was less enamored by the reenactment aspect of the event (even though re-enactments have been a buzz word in contemporary art lately, thanks to Jeremy Deller and others) and more interested in how this history can be applicable to socially-engaged artists and the movements of today. Specifically, I was interested in raising critiques and questions if artists today view working class movements as a place to situate themselves within, and if so, what does this look like and what types of work needs to take place to create meaningful collaborations and actions.

The Paterson Strike and the Paterson Pageant

The Paterson Strike is a complex history, one in which a short essay will not do justice, but some main points are worth mentioning. In 1913, 25,000 silk workers in Patterson, New Jersey walked off their jobs in a general strike that crippled the Paterson silk industry. The leaders of the strike were the workers themselves and they made the decision to call in a number of talented IWW organizers (led by Elizabeth Gurly Flynn and Bill Haywood) to serve as tacticians and speakers to help a strike that was already in progress. That said, the role of the IWW speakers was critical. Workers who spoke out against their employers in public venues and the press faced the threat of being blacklisted. The IWW speakers, who came from out-of-town, could be arrested, but their livelihood was not on the line. Thus, the IWW could articulate the demands of the workers to large crowds and the press. Eventually, many workers signed up as IWW members but it is important to understand that the vast majority of the 25,000 striking workers had little affiliation with the IWW before the strike took place.

Another group entered the mix largely because the strike was not going well. The silk manufacturers refused to cave into any of the demands of the strike and the police and the city government did not make any major errors that would turn public opinion against them. Thus, the IWW (primarily Bill Haywood) invited in a group of Greenwich Village artists and intellectuals to assist with the strike.

This assistance took shape in two ways. First, artists traveled to Paterson to experience the strike firsthand. Some, including John Reed, got arrested and the experience compelled them to become more involved in the struggle. Sec-

ond, artists and writers helped put forth the idea to stage a pageant in New York City that would draw attention to the strike, help garner national press, and bring in much needed funds to the strike committee that helped supported the families that were on the picket lines with basic necessities. Thus, artists suddenly found themselves taking an active role in the strike and helping shape its outcome.

In doing so, the Pageant presented the opportunity for three different groups to work together, with each side con-

allies. As a drama, it was a tool for organizing and not simply entertainment. More so, it was meant to inspire the silk workers from Paterson to continue their struggle and to realize just how vital the past three months had been, not just for their own lives - but for the labor movement and the cause of revolutionary industrial unionism.

Following the Pageant's immediate aftermath, the performance was hailed as a tremendous success. Participants and audience alike were deeply moved by the perfor-



tributing their own set of skills. For instance, John Reed's task was to write and to direct the Pageant where he spent weeks rehearsing a cast of workers to re-enact their struggle. And on June 7th, he led a procession of over a thousand workers through the streets of Paterson to board a special thirteen-car train destined for New York City. Once in New York, the workers marched down Fifth Avenue to Madison Square Garden where the Pageant was performed to over 15,000 people. Inside, workers and strike leaders recreated the past three months of the strike in a performance that completely blurred art and reality.

When Flynn and Haywood addressed the Madison Square Garden crowd, their speeches were similar if not identical to those they had given in the weeks and months prior in Paterson. Were they part of the drama or words to recruit new members to the strike? These questions were what made the Pageant so exceptional.

The Pageant was a drama that recreated recent history, but it was also making history in the process. The production was designed to inspire the audience and to create new

mance and the national press gave the Pageant favorable reviews, thus more media attention was generated towards the strike in Paterson. However, when the door money was counted and compared against the steep costs of the production, it was learned to just about everyone's surprise that the Pageant had lost money.

This turned a successful event into a public relations nightmare that placed the blame on the shoulders of the IWW and the artists who were involved. Morale within the strike collapsed and the alliances between the IWW, workers and artists fell apart. A few weeks later, the strike ended.

The Pageant, itself was blamed (particularly by Elizabeth Gurly Flynn) as one of the main culprits for the strike's demise, even though the factory owners had showed no evidence that they would have ever backed down from their position or negotiated with those on strike even had the Pageant made money. Nonetheless, the Pageant became the convenient escape goat and I argued in my talk that this was one of the great tragedies of the strike for it ruptured the solidarity that the three sides (workers, artists, and the

IWW) had gained and it made future collaborations all the more difficult. I closed the talk by stating:

The Paterson defeat was also a tremendous loss for the revolutionary potential of artists collaborating with working class movements in the US. The bitterness that swept Paterson poisoned the very positive memories of the Pageant and the incredible possibilities that it presented. Artists involved with the strike had left the isolation of their studios, the isolation from within their small circles and had utilized their talents towards a greater cause. The defeat and the end of the collaboration between artists and industrial workers sent many of these artists back to the confines of their studios and isolated scenes.

Also forgotten was the initial reason for becoming involved. Didn't the Greenwich Village artists and intellectuals become active with the Paterson Strike because they were deeply inspired by the actions of the silk workers, a sign that revolution was moving beyond theory, and into practice? For the artists, it allowed them, in the words of historian Eugene E. Leach, "to move from passive sympathy to active support of class struggles."¹ And it confirmed, as Steve Golin notes, "what the intellectuals had previously only hoped -- that art could become an integral part of the revolution."² It had, but the silk workers defeat in the strike placed blame on the Pageant, removing it from its context, making it seem as if the very involvement of artists within strikes was problematic - a notion that was further encouraged by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's critique of the Pageant.


This notion was one of the many tragedies of the Paterson Strike. Hindsight argues that artists fighting on the side of social justice should not shy away from becoming involved in working class struggles and solidarity campaigns. For what is the alternative? To be removed? Separate? To not attempt to build larger movements? Logic would argue that the potentials of collaboration far outweigh the pitfalls and the very workable problems that might arise.

Work in Progress

My argument for the need for collaborations between artists and workers ran central throughout the talk but my primary interest was to raise questions that might be useful for artists and activists working today. Researching radical art history is useful only if we apply it to the present and the Paterson Pageant becomes so useful for it asks us to consider how social and political change is created. Can political work be cultural? Can it be uninhibited and outside the ordinary? Or should it be more structured, disciplined and cautious, as not to alienate a wide range of people? More so, how are alliances created between artists and workers generated, and how do we define each group? Additionally, these questions asks us to critique the effectiveness of our cultural practices today and to consider who are audiences are, how we reach people, and where we should situate our efforts.

These are huge questions to grapple with and after the presentation I was struck by a few comments and conversations that I had with people who offered important criticism. A number of people were disappointed that the talk had a critical tone regarding the IWW, especially as it related to Elizabeth Gurly Flynn. This surprised me to a certain extent because the talk was on a specific IWW campaign in Paterson and not the IWW per se. Also, it was a presentation on a strike that had lost so a critique and re-evaluation of the history becomes all the more important. Additionally, as admirable as the IWW and Flynn are, we should never hold them to a level where they only draw our praise. In my mind, that becomes a simplistic reading of their legacy and I imagine they would want us to learn and to debate their shortcomings as much as their successes.

Lastly, I was struck by a participant who connected the Paterson talk to the immigrant movements of today. He noted his enthusiasm for the massive immigrant rights march that had taken place on May Day in 2006 in Chicago (as well as numerous other cities) and the important work on border issues and the lives of undocumented workers in the US, yet, lamented the fact that many artists outside of the Latino community did not participate in these struggles. To me, his comment spoke of the many divisions that still exist today and the urgent need for more solidarity, more unity and for socially-engaged artists to situate themselves in the most important place of all: within movements.

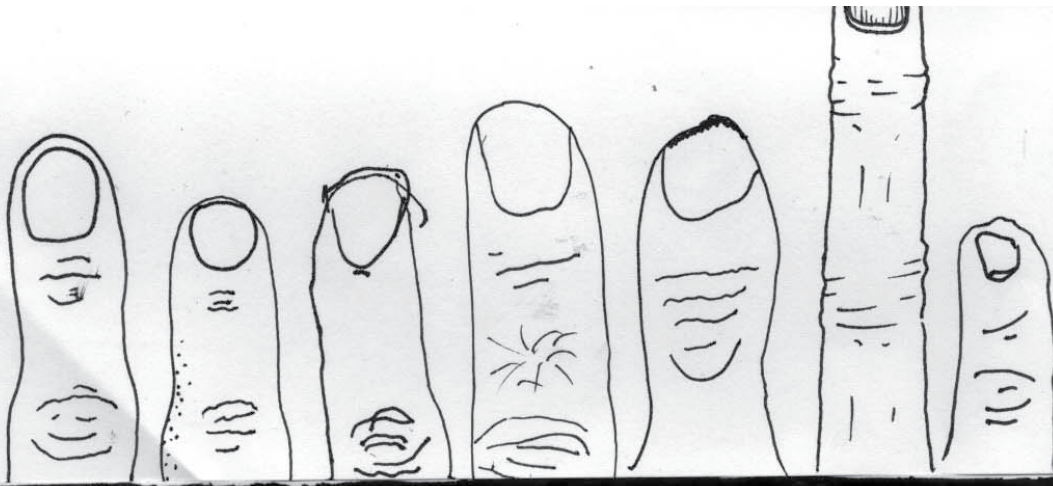


**THE PAGEANT OF THE
PATERSON STRIKE**
PERFORMED BY THE STRIKERS THEMSELVES.
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
SATURDAY JUNE 7, 8:30 P.M.
BOXES \$20 & \$10: SEATS \$2, 1.50, 1, 50¢, 25¢, & 10¢.

LET'S
REMAKE
THE
WORLD
III

LET'S RE-MAKE THE WORLD III

YNKB, Copenhagen, 22-23-24 February 2008



LET'S REMAKE THE WORLD III

SEMINAR AND WORKSHOP

Presentations by:
Brett Bloom
Claire Pentecost
John Jordan
Keith Stern-PirLOT
Kirsten Forkert
Michel Chevalier
Sarah Lewison

FEBRUARY 22-23-24

YNKB, BALDERSGADE 70, ST. TV. 2200 KBH N

THIS PROJECT SEEKS TO CREATE A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE PLACE OF OPTIMISM IN THE FACE OF WAR, ENVIRONMENTAL DEVASTATION, AND GLOBAL CAPITALISM, AND TO EXAMINE HOW OPTIMISM CAN HELP FUEL POSITIVE CHANGE IN A REALISTIC WAY. SEE THE BACKGROUND AND DETAILED PROGRAM FOR LETS REMAKE THE WORLD III ON <http://www.ynkb.dk/eng/2008.shtml> AND THE QUESTIONS WE INTEND TO ADDRESS

Music by Peter Dacke, Havblik Audio,
Henning and Elisabetta

For more info, <http://www.ynkb.dk/eng/2008.shtml>
Please sign up, info@ynkb.dk

All Participants must prepare a statement
Please make an effort to connect to the questions set forth for the seminar, - which will be worked together to a joint statement, for Let's remake the World III.

The seminar is followed by a

workshop

Sunday, February 24th

arranged by Parfume & YNKB

Let's remake the world III by the library of radiant optimism and ynkb supported by danish art council

This is the third event in a series initiated by the Library of Radiant Optimism (Brett Bloom + Bonnie Fortune) and YNKB, which started in late 2006 with The Radiantly Optimistic Poster Show exhibited at YNKB, December 2006, and at Messhall, Chicago, June 2007. This exhibition was followed by a seminar in Messhall: What We Know of Our Past - What We Demand of Our Future, January 18-20, 2008.

We are inspired by the groundswell of optimistic and visionary activities in the late 1960s and early 1970s. We are interested in this time period and the massive counter-cultural movement it produced in the face of international political and social turmoil. We find ourselves in a similar global environment of unprecedented crises, and we are wondering how we can make visible and cohesive the currently existing activities. Is there potential to add to the optimistic histories of past activism with our own movements? This project seeks to not only create a discussion about the place of optimism in the face of war, environmental devastation, and global capitalism, but to examine how optimism can help fuel positive change in a realistic way.

We have invited artists and activists from US, Germany, Great-Britain, Sweden and Denmark to present ideas, viewpoints, and projects as basis for further elaboration on these subjects. If possible, we would like to put the subject into a historical and a global context.

We relate to the optimism of late 1960s/early 1970s, but the optimistic and visionary activities in the late 1960s and early 1970s had their background in the massive civil rights and anti-war movements, may 68 Paris, with striking students and workers, and liberation movements fighting colonialism and imperialism in Asia, Latin America and Africa (to name just a few of the struggles) Also, Denmark and Sweden had relatively progressive governments (at least compared to now). Both the Swedish and Danish Prime Ministers - Oluf Palme and Anker Joergensen, respectively--took part in demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. But unfortunately as everyone knows, things have changed in ways that have brought about major setbacks.

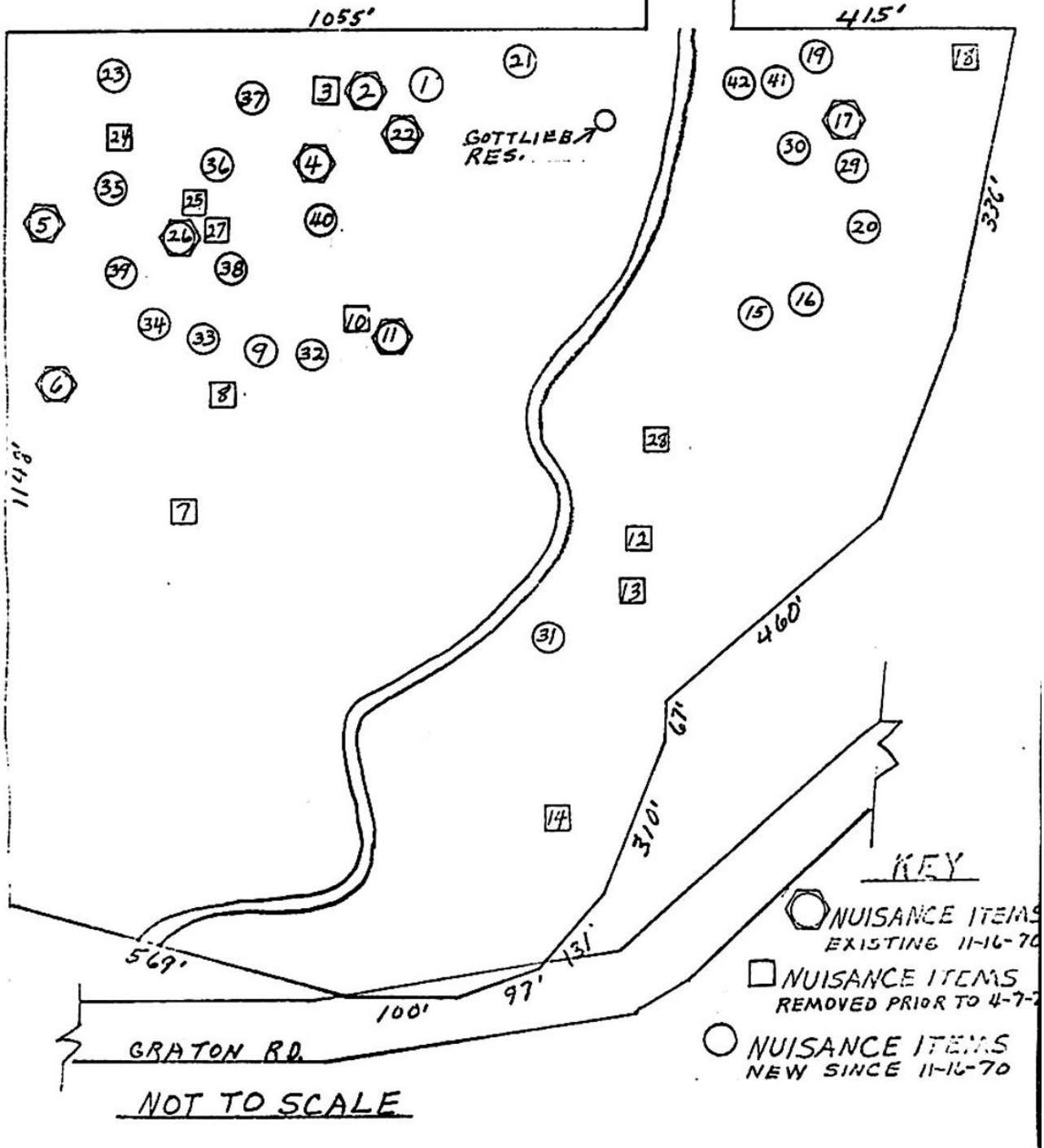
The bright future of Africa has turned into a state of war between tribes, AIDS, and massive emigration to Europe (which is trying to protect itself against the 'barbarous hordes' with walls and camps); A global economic crisis is unfolding; Populist rightwing parties are growing; Iraq is a disaster and total chaos; and the Palestinian quest for the right to return has never been solved. Now, the whole of what should have been the independent state of Palestine is totally fragmented by settlements and what is left has been turned into an open prison. And this is only the the tip of the iceberg. Yet times of crisis are also times of opportunity and it's this that we set about to explore.

These are some of the questions we intend to address:

1. How can we actualize life-affirming artistic practices against this background?
2. What are the experiences of past movements, what can be learned from these experiences, and how can this understanding be applied?
3. How can we relate to the establishment and how will this impact our work? How can we share cultural capital in non-normative ways?
4. Who are we addressing in our art practices and how do we represent the other?
5. How can we escape the trap of metaphor in order not just represent differences but to live them in the here and now?

12542 GRATON RD.
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 PREPARED BY Z.D. SHAW 4-7-71

EXHIBIT "B"



LAND ACCESS TO WHICH IS DENIED NO ONE

by Sarah Lewison

PROCEEDINGS

The People of the State of California v. Lou Gottlieb

The People of the State of California v. Lou Gottlieb is a legal case that was tried circa 1970 in Northern California. It concerns the right of a property owner to dedicate his land, 31-acre Morningstar Ranch, to God. I located the court records and made copies of the case, and with artist and then-law-student Erin McGonigle, edited the transcript of Gottlieb's appeal of the court's decision into a digestible length. In the late 60s, Morningstar Ranch was home, ashram, and commune to thousands of people in Northern California, a liberating temporary autonomous zone- and for Gottlieb the owner as well, who experienced the land on which they lived as holy, as the very manifestation of the Goddess. The commune's conservative neighbors, however, were less hospitable. Already antagonistic to hippies and the cultural degeneration they represented, neighbors repeatedly called local police authorities out to Morningstar, until a string of petty code violations added up- first to fines, then prison terms, and finally to a state-ordered court injunction against living on the land. Throughout these challenges Gottlieb grew stronger in his conviction there should be what he called "land access to which is denied no one," or LATWIDNO. He even made plans to purchase more property for this use. In 1969, he and his wife signed over the title of the property to God, imaginably to delay the injunction, but also to force an examination of the social consequences of property ownership. Gottlieb wrote that "if land is held as a source of profit, that opens a certain pattern of reactive behavior which is very well-established... How really should we live on the earth when we are not concerned at least with this tiny, little pilot study with maximizing the net?"

Reading the case as a group process, we can trace the arguments and compare the context of that time and place to today. Likewise we begin to gain access to the obscure and arcane language used in law, language we might have to use ourselves in order to, as Isa Fremeaux put it, "outwit the forces that oppress us." Gottlieb trained himself as an amateur lawyer, spending months gathering precedents and acquiring the vocabulary to press his case. This appeal was heard in 1970, as Morningstar hippies faced eviction and the bulldozing of their unique hand-built homes. In March 2008 at YNKB, Let's Remake the World III Seminar we read the appeal case and discussed its implications. Below, I share some of the legal terminology and context amidst transcribed portions of the group's post-reading conversation.

The case transcript can be read here: carbonfarm.us/land/

thecourt.pdf

DEDICATION: "Dedication in the proper sense involves a gift to the public." In the appeal, the court claims Gottlieb cannot give the land to God because God doesn't exist as a real person. Gottlieb points out this is irrelevant to the intention of a GIFT, for in DEDICATION, the courts have always attempted to follow the wishes of the dedicator, no matter how difficult it might be to identify the recipient.

It is possible to dedicate a piece of property to the public. This often occurs through neglect or by implication, such as when an owner stops preventing trespass by tearing down fences, thus allowing the public to use the land in particular ways.

DEDICATION TO GOD: There is a long history of spiritual utopianism in United States history, which is, within limits, enabled by the Constitutional separation of Church and State. This separation, as Bruno Latour points out in *We Have Never Been Modern*, offers an efficient mechanism for ensuring the non-interference of concerns of morality (church), with those of capital (state). This separation is an artificial one that keeps capital and the state free of impingement by matters of conscience. By dedicating to God, Gottlieb muddies up the separation and exposes the inherent contradictions.

Brett Bloom (BB): So why not set it up as a land trust? Because then it could be put in the trust for people for all time, and it could not be revoked and everyone would have access under certain conditions. It is interesting how he does it and it makes a great story but... I'm not sure how, but a land-trust structure would shift the responsibility.

Rasmus Bjerre (RB): I think the problem with the owner being any other subject but God is they would be able to sue and demand money and the subject would not be able to pay. The point is that they wouldn't sue God.

Sarah Lewison (SL): They do discuss other legal structures. In the court they say, why can't you do a non-profit; or a corporation? But don't want to for the reasons Rasmus states; but also because someone would have to take a position of authority on the land for the state. Later, in the 70s, people start using land trust structures to take this kind of responsibility. This also gives them the responsibility to reject people, which Gottlieb refused to do.

* * *

After Morningstar was evicted, residents moved to another commune, establishing a new religion that required adherents to live on the land. They counted on protection under First Amendment religious practice rights, but lost in court for the same reasons as before—sanitation violations and fearful neighbors. Gottlieb later explored an Islamic legal covenant called *Wuqf* that permits dedication of property to a community. This is not much different from a land or family trust, however, effectively a corporate body.

* * *

Frank Solomon, a lawyer interested in constitutional law, voluntarily agreed to assist in court on behalf of Gottlieb. In the case, he claims the court has no JURISDICTION. The First Amendment of the Constitution states that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Here, this means the court can't make any judgments as to the nature of God. Solomon offers to take over as guardian of the land, for God.

Isa Fremeaux (IF): My understanding of the States currently is that there is a very strong religious current and I am wondering.. do you have any idea what the reaction would be at the moment when there is such an ultra-religious discourse from the administration itself.

SL: There has been a softening of the Church State divide. Basic social needs have been increasingly subcontracted to religious institutions like churches that get state money to educate children, sometimes using the Bible as a fundamental text without oversight. Such interventions could be considered violations of the First Amendment. Religious freedom defenses have also been used to launch progressive challenges against the power of the state, say to excuse someone from military service. There were important legal cases where conscientious objectors (CO) to military service during the Vietnam period expanded the relevance of personal ethics. Initially, to be excused from the service as a CO meant one had to prove one conventionally practiced a conventional religion. In a threshold CO case during this period, the appellant did not believe in God, but proved his belief that it was morally wrong to engage in war. This set a new definition of ethical dissent that had bearing over what could happen to your body. But this is just about one person's body and the stretch is the difference between one body and a whole community or piece of property.

Occasionally, religious freedom defenses are attempted to protect habitat. A coalition of indigenous tribes sued the US Forest Service for allowing a ski resort to expand operations on a sacred mountain in Arizona. The Forest Service approved the resort's expansion and their plan to spray the mountain with artificial snow made from recycled sewer water from nearby Flagstaff. The Indians said this was tantamount to shitting on their sacred mountain,

and destroyed the basis of their religion. A very divided appeal court recently denied their claims against the Forest Service. This demonstrates the judiciary's conservative tendencies in the past years—and the difficulty of removing any land from a profit calculus.

RB: I think that is an important difference between the United States and at least continental Europe, that the courts are extremely conservative and pragmatic and because of that we've never seen important social change coming from the courts. We have always won the political struggle first and then forced the courts to come after. With abortion, equal treatment, everything. In continental Europe and I think in most countries in South America and Asia. It is very special situation in the United States that this arm of government is tied to such a principled document as the Constitution. We had some court cases recently about people who supported resistance movements in Palestine and Columbia and this is the first time in Danish history that we have ever won something in the court. Before we only won it in the political arena. It's the Constitutional Law that's special. Also historically, for the courts have been important for blocking or promoting social change.

Suzanne Russell (SR): We have something called Herculean judges that don't actually follow the law but use the law to get just results.

Claire Pentecost (CP): It also is very much affected by the political climate. We had judges in the 70s who would make system changing judgments, say for instance with the decision that initiated school bussing to integrate the schools, under great resistance. And would take those kind of stands, and now the Supreme Court is much more sympathetic to the right. But it's always interpretation. And I understand that our Bill of Rights gives us tools to work with through the courts, but its still subject to interpretation.

The religion thing is a tricky one. I don't know if you have any parallel to freedom of religion, freedom to practice your religion, and not have any religion imposed by the state. In France they are so strongly secular, they take that secularity of the State so seriously that they say the young people, you know the girls can't wear headscarves in school and so forth. But one of the things happening now [in the United States] is the ADS, the Alliance Defense Fund, which is a group and a legal team with 900 lawyers that does cases for fundamental Christians. One of the things they've done, for example is in the schools where there been movement toward tolerance and acceptance of queer students, and no tolerance of Christian kids who come in and harass them and persecute them and wear intimidating tee shirts and things like that, and they have made the case that its an imposition on their rights. If a Christian believes that homosexuality is a sin, they must have the right to say this to anyone, even if it's a queer student that they should be able to go to them and say, "You're going to hell." And so you can imagine, it's very vicious.

So the Danes do not have a separation of Church and

State?

RB: No, Not only that, but constitutionally the Queen is the head of State and she has to be the head of the local branch of Protestantism as well.

Voice: And the Protestant Church gets support from the state and other churches, or the Muslims are not getting support.

Hamayun Butt: No but they do. You can get funds.

Voice: But you can't get equal funds, like for example the priests here are paid directly by the state.

* * *

Finn Thybo (FT): From this conversation, the important thing is we have never won anything in the courts first. The history of all Continental Europe is about winning the Parliament and then convincing slowly slowly slowly the courts. And that's a big difference with the states.

SL: You pointed out that a case like this could not happen here. This is a question for us too in fact, for Gottlieb in fact presses his case as an individual. It would be even more difficult to form a group that would be seen to have the right to stand before the court, or to sue as a group.

Kristen Dufour (KD): I think it would be interesting to find out how much we can use the law and the court. It seems that indigenous people can do this. Vendana Shiva uses the law because this is the only way she can protect seeds, because the laws have not moved as fast as globalization.

SL: I think the law can deal with that because a direct economic connection can be made - to the value of the saved seed. Law is interesting because there are so many rules and it is very ritualistic, so if you follow procedures, you can slowly build an argument much like a termite chewing on a structure. In the US this kind of persistence created ways to protect segments of the population from discrimination. But civil law is also built on conceptions of property and its value- this is the metric for determining harm. While people have been able to get protection under classifications, of gender or race, there isn't any classification with protection for, for example, poor people. Stephen Dunifer, the so-called "father of Pirate Radio" in the US ran a pirate radio station in Berkeley and he was popped by the FCC. In his defense, his lawyers argued that Dunifer provides radio for people with no access to radio, or to speech, who deserve special protections. These people have no access to airwaves not because of classically legally protected categories like race and gender but because of poverty.

FT: In the 60s and the 70s we thought the law was something really reactionary but now we are using the law to protect ourselves. Maybe it is the world or the time that has changed. At that time, we thought the law was to protect property and was something that should be taken down. But in Denmark now the government is overruling the law,

and they are ignoring the Constitution.

CP: Do they have immunity?

FT: No, but we have no right to sue them. The first case was about whether we had the right to sue them and then they said we have no right to sue them, and then it goes to the high court and on, and then they should decide if we have a right to sue them, and if they do this, it takes a long time and it might take 10 years into the future.

CP: This is about the criminality of the war?

KD: Yes.

It is increasingly difficult for groups to get STANDING to sue in court. In recent environmental case law in the States, and in cases where citizens form an ad hoc (versus an economic) group, the court will argue that plaintiffs are unable to demonstrate direct concrete (financial) damages. Thus, litigants are denied the right to STAND for remote or unconventional parties unable to defend themselves; victims of war, forests, God.

* * *

John Jordan: I'd be interested in hearing from any people from Christiania here, because it's really a key issue of what is happening there right now.

IF: It is about land.

JJ: And about accepting the law, or not... and about the 60s generation not wishing to work with the law and your generation and all this, replayed. All these issues are so relevant to what is going on in Christiania and I'd be interested in hearing what people think about their response to the law there, in relationship to property. I mean in Gottlieb's case what is going on is that he is using the law, but also a creative, absurdist approach. Which is what seems to be in the history of Christiania is to use a kind of absurdist approach to confrontation by the state. In a sense that seems to have become a bit lost in regards to what is going on there now.

RB: When it comes to using the courts, the people from Christiania had some success in the 70s but that was because groups of people, not very well defined groups of people-- under Danish law-- were maybe allowed to sue. And this created a big discussion both on the legal scene, and in the public in general, about when you were incorporated enough to be a subject before the court. Christiania lost that case and since then it has become very difficult for not very homogeneous enough groups to sue. That was one of the legal developments that have made it very difficult to use the courts since then. And of course, as I understood you, this is one of the developments that has also occurred in the States. The other development is that the City of Copenhagen acknowledged the people of Christiania had some rights to the land, but that was only the City of Copenhagen. Five years ago or so, the state managed to

get the courts to accept the fact that the State had never acknowledged these kinds of rights. Because of that the legal situation changed so that we now have a situation where insisting on the legal letter will actually be detrimental to the people living at Christiania.

IF: My understanding is that in Christiania there was an attempt to go for an approach that would be something like the common use of land for a long enough period that after – I have no idea how long, but I know that we heard that in France that if you have been using the land with a common purpose for long enough, that is what it becomes.

RB: That is possible, but again, one of the discussions, like in this case, is, what kind of subject would ever be able to win this kind of right and again, the courts are pretty firm in saying that only individuals could ever win a right like that. So even if some individuals could even prove that they have been living there long enough, it will only be their individual right to pass on to their ancestors or something like that. But that's not the point of Christiania of course, the point of Christiania would be to make it some kind of group subject.

IF: It could be turned into commons because this is the thing that we learned in France is that there was a piece of land – this was technical, and mostly for agricultural land-- that could actually could be turned into commons rather than private property. If it had been used as commons for long enough, then that's what the land will become.

RB: As of old in Denmark we had this situation where the public had a right to pass through woods or be on the beach or stuff like that. But during the 20th century in a kind of acceptance of that, the State passed laws declaring exactly this and since then the legal teaching is that the right of the public does not derive from old but derives from the State saying now they have the right. And that's a pretty important change in how we conceive of where rights come from.

IN RES JURISDICTION: The jurisdiction of the state within its boundaries is all powerful. It has jurisdiction over anything, persons or property, within it. This power over property gives the state power to adjudicate anything about property. This is the power that the state of California ultimately uses in *v* Gottlieb.

Voice: Weren't there cases of collectively owned water or where you could have an oven or something?

RB: I think that in most parts of Denmark and Continental Europe, there were, but legally, the regional governments have gained the title to the land. For many years it was only a technical matter, because they kept allowing people to use it. You may be right that some places still exist where no legal subject has a title to the land. I think the basic problem for us is that both the legal system and capitalism functions very much through collective ownership. I mean the basic idea of the company is collective ownership, sort of, but its very well defined legal entities and that's what

makes it difficult for the kinds of group and group dynamics that we would like to further, to use the legal system. In general they have no problem with organizations being legal subjects. That's one of the points of corporations.

CP: It seems that in Europe many countries have had laws that protect squatters. What is the situation now in Denmark?

Voices: No laws to protect squatters. They never had any protection for squatters here.

RB: I mean of course technically, the system said that if you were in some place and you were doing something, and the person or legal entity who has the title who could demand that you stop doing it. Now, if they do not do that, of course then you have time, and then you are entitled, but the problem is that it is only individuals who qualify and you have to do it for like 30 years. Of course that's why Christiania might qualify but only Christiania.

Voice: But also in Christiania they gave into this individual rights and that's a problem.

RB: When the scene changed so that when it was basically accepted that the State had never acknowledged they had given title to the land, then the State had all the cards, then they started coming up with all these solutions. That meant that legally people living in Christiania were starting from zero, and many of the of the people who were living there for a long time were very afraid to get evicted and they would lose a lot, their whole personal history and all the progressive things they had been working on for their whole life would just be gone, if they got evicted, so they are very tempted by this offer to get individual title to their land, but of course that would be very problematic in terms of the idea of Christiania. But I think some of the compromise solutions worked on now, the idea now that technically they get individual titles to the land but then they all place their individual rights into a foundation or trust and it's a big discussion in principle whether this is a good idea or now.

JJ: what would happen, if God would become owner of the property?

RB: I don't think any Danish court would have any problem in saying nope.

Voice: Maybe the Bishop?

Thanks to the readers at YNKB who generously shared their expertise and energy: Suzanne Russell (the judge); John Jordan (Lou Gottlieb, defendant), Hamayun Butt (Frank Solomon Esq. Amicus Curiae Friend of the Court), Jeuno Kim (Mr. Berry Gottlieb's lawyer), Kristina Ask (Mr Hawkes, lawyer for the state). Thanks equally to the generosity of the discussants cited above, and to the organizers of the event, lets remake.

OPTIMISM NOW OR NOTHING

by John Jordan

What I am going to talk about now is a bit of a nostalgic trip for myself. Nostalgia often fills me with optimism. I was being conceived at around the same time that Guy Debord was getting drunk in Paris, and one of the questions for me has been; what can one take from the 60's and 70's? If I had to take ONE thing from that period it would be the Situationists idea of the suppression and realization of art. For me this has really been the kind of foundation for all the work I have done in the last 15 years, this idea that you can realize the best art by suppressing it-by actually overcoming art to with life, to turning life itself into a revolutionary praxis. For me it's absolutely essential, and I think it's even more important now.

So, this is my son (showing an image of a boy), Jack, he is twelve and he was born in 1994, not long after the Zapatista uprising came, which for me really announced the international hope; it was a very important moment to have hope about new ways of thinking about the meanings of global solidarity alliances. This is a climate change model (showing a graph video of the rise of global temperatures). I was born in 1965 and this model shows that the global temperature, when I was born, was 0,2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial, meaning that there was 0,2 degrees extra of global heat from the time when we weren't producing Co2 (or much less than the industry does today). When Jack was born, in 1994, this temperature went up to 0,5 in 1994. This year Jack started secondary school, and it's gone up to 0,8 degrees. By the time he leaves school it will be 1,03 above pre-industrial. When he is my age, around 2036, we don't know. Maybe it will go beyond the 2 degrees tipping point, which even the EU which aren't really known for their radical ecological politics, are saying we cannot go beyond. If we go above 2 degrees, we will go into an out-of-control feedback situation of climate chaos. But maybe by then we will have woken up to the fact that, our culture, our way of life, is collective suicide.

This winter (it does get optimistic, don't worry!), I gave a talk at a conference organized by the Royal Society of Arts and the London School of Economics. The keynote speaker was a key scientist in terms of climate change. He is a physicist and his specialty is looking at feedback mechanisms, he is looking at how local effects have global effects in terms of climate change. He's a guy in a grey suit, middle-aged, standing up there, not a radical ecologist, (he is also the adviser to Germany's Angela Merkel, so he and Merkel sit together at the table and he tells her what is going on), and he shows us this little PowerPoint presentation, and at the end it says: End of the world, 2050. And we all sit there in the auditorium and clap and then go for coffee. A few months later Jack says to me: Dad, Dad, they invented REAL laser-guns, REAL ones, real ones you can carry around, that

means we are in the future doesn't it? I looked at him and I wanted to respond by saying: What future? But I kept my mouth shut.

I could have told him about the collective suicide that our culture is preparing for him. I could have told him how this collective suicide has been repeated on a local level throughout history - Boers, Rome, Eastern Islands. All civilizations have collapsed because their support systems have become exhausted, a pattern beautifully described by Ronald Wright in his fantastic book Short History of Progress. Collective suicide that has been repeated on a local level throughout history Ur, the Mayans, Rome, Easter Island all civilizations that collapsed by exhausting their life support systems, a pattern described by archaeologist Wright as sticking to entrenched beliefs and practices, robbing the future to pay the present, and spending the last reserves of natural capital on a reckless binge of excessive wealth and glory. And I think we can all probably go to places in Copenhagen or London, where we will see this reckless binge. I could have told him, Jack, that this was not just a local problem but also a global problem, but I kept my mouth shut.

I think we all know that we are at an absolute crisis-point, in terms of humanity. The word crisis, as I'm sure some of you will know, comes from the Greek, it's a medical term and it comes from *krisis*, the time point of an illness when the point of the body was making a decision of whether give up and to die or to heal itself. And equally in Chinese the word crisis has two pictograms, one meaning danger and the other meaning opportunity.

Ten years ago, I was working in a group called Platform in London, and we produced this postcard saying: The question of art is no longer aesthetics, but survival of the planet. And now it's stuck above my door. The etymology of aesthetics? Again from the Greek, meaning our ability to experience, to sense, to notice the world, to actually feel through our bodies. So, how can we comprehend with our gut this insane attack on everything that is living by a system that puts priority over life on things like money, profit and abstractions? A very interesting study of the holocaust survivors was done recently. It showed that many of them refused to face the seriousness of the holocaust even while it was happening around them. In fact one survivor accounted how his orchestra didn't miss a single beat of the Mozart piece they were playing, as they pretended not to notice the smoke of the synagogue being burnt down next door. A half a century later the sister of one of the July 7th bombers in London wrote an email to her brother. In the email she encouraged her brother to go through with the action, she wrote: "We all have to be firm and focused with

reality, as time is slipping away and there is really no time to be weak and emotional." Meanwhile there is some interesting research going on, in euro-economics, they investigate what is the behaviour that makes someone buy or sell a share, and it is interesting what they show it reveals, it shows that people with certain brain legions, which limit their capacity for emotion, felt less fear, took more risks and made bigger profits than rivals. So, according to the logic of the market and terror, success comes to those who have damaged their capacity to feel. When I was fourteen my father died, he died of skin-cancer, possible one of the ecological victims of the ozone layer. And I was a fourteen-year old boy, not ready to talk about my emotions and my mother said: You gotta go and talk to someone, you have to show your feelings in some way, I'm gonna take you to the doctor, because you are not talking to me. So, she took me to the doctor who sat behind this big, huge oak desk. The doctor asked me: "So John, how do you feel?" I opened my mouth and projectile vomited across his desk. Sometimes, I wish I could still feel like that.

Responsibility: our ability to respond. As artists and activists, we are somewhat aware of the atrocity, we are somewhat attuned to feeling, to sensing, to paying attention. It's often the fuel to our actions or the catalyst to our creativity. But we also know that to feel too much is as paralyzing as to feeling nothing at all. So to me, perhaps the great question is: What is this appropriate response to the suicidal insanity of this culture? As an artist, I didn't want to make more images that tell the world of the atrocities, that show the world of poverty. I didn't want to do performances about our ecological destruction; I didn't want to make installations about climate change, social devastation and hunger. In fact, I didn't want to make art ABOUT issues, but IN them, WITH them, imbedded IN the issues themselves. I wanted to try to make art that intervenes directly in the problem. I didn't want to illustrate things, I didn't want to represent things but instead try to transform them.

My background is in performance art in the 1990's (this is why it all got nostalgic) there is a really interesting amnesia around the late 1990's as a social movement. People forget that there was a peak in the global movement in the late 1990's; an absolutely fundamental global movement unlike any global movement happening in the world and that movement has been interestingly forgotten. In the beginning of the 1990's there was an amazing anti-roads movement in Britain, a movement fighting against the building of new motorways. One day I was jumping on bulldozers and stopping roads being built, and thought 'hang on, this is much better theatre, much better performance, it mixes the poetic and pragmatic, there are beautiful images being created and it is changing things for real.' In fact, the anti-road movement in Britain cancelled 700 hundred roads that were meant to be built in Britain at the time.

This radically changed my life, it changed the way I saw culture, it changed the way I saw what I could do with my body. And in those movements I experienced a level of creativity that blew me away. I saw people being way more creative than any artists that I have seen. I saw people be-

ing creative without the ego, without the cultural-capital, without all that baggage. To be honest I didn't really care if it was called art or activism. As far I was concerned art was a concept that most none-western cultures didn't even have, and something, which really separated creativity from everyday-life. For me, if we truly have an ecological understanding of the world, then how can we have an art that is separated from our every-day life, how can we have an aesthetics that is separated from ethics and action that is separated from imagination? I was much more at home with the Balinese concept, which is that art is simply doing everything in the best possible way we can.

I tended to find most art not radical engaged enough, but most politics deeply boring; not engaged in imagination, not engaged in aesthetics, not engaged in creativity. So for me the question was, how we find a space between these two? How do we make art that doesn't look like art, and politics that doesn't look like politics? So, over the last 10-15 years my strategies have been: how do I try and dissolve those things, art and politics, activism and aesthetics? And the way I found that works for me was to just immerse myself to social movements, to actually try to abandon my identity as artist, try to abandon the work in the art-world and actually work with the social movements as material. This was similar to Beuys and his ideas of social sculpture- to actually see the movements as material. I wanted to work with the forms of actions, the forms of discussions, the forms of democracy, and apply the creativity directly to those social movements. For me the question is: how do we make radical politics as desirable as the next iPod? Because if we don't go down that line of making radical politics speak to desire and aspiration, embedding the optimism embedded in consumption into our radical political acts- then I think we really are heading for the end of the world.

I worked for a long time in a group called Reclaim the Streets, and one of our key ideas was how do we make radical politics pleasurable? How do you make changing the world THE most enjoyable, pleasurable, fun thing you can do? Way more sustainable enjoyable than anything capitalism can offer. So we came up with this idea of the street party. The main idea was to look at the street as a common space for neighbours to meet, rather than the space for commerce and cars. How do we rethink the street as a place that belongs to all of us? Where creativity can happen, where we can share things, where we can meet our neighbours, create community and so on.

Our first street party was in May 1995, we announced the meeting-point and kept the actual party-point secret. So, everyone would go to this meeting-point, then they would get into the underground, (in those day the police radios didn't work in the underground, now they do so it's more complicated) and while they were underground two cars came to the street and they crashed into each other. The drivers were going around the cars starting to have a little road-rage, saying: "Arggh, you stupid fool you crashed into my car!" And then they opened their trunks, one got a hammer and the other got some paint, and they started to smash and to throw paint on the cars. And just as this was happening, people came out of the underground. It was a

piece of street theatre, poetic and quite funny, joyful and dramatic, but also pragmatic - It blocked the street and allowed us to take the street back. 500 hundred people came out on to the street and started the party, free food was shared, people danced. It was also around the time when the Criminal Justice Act was coming in Britain, which basically made rave music illegal. (If you danced with more than 5 people to rave music you would go to jail in Britain, and it is still the case). It was basically to get rid of the free party scene, and made everyone go to nightclubs and pay lots of money. In a sense, that was a background to Reclaim the Streets. It was a movement that became bigger and bigger, partly because we were really showing a new form of radical political action. It wasn't just confrontation with the police it was also pre-figurative and said; look, this is what a street could look like, it could be about sharing food, about meeting your neighbour. We were pre-figuring the future in the present. But we got a bit cocky, because the street parties was growing bigger and bigger and our ambitions got a bit enormous, so after about three years we thought: Let's take a motorway!

A lot of us came out of projects where we were fighting against motorways. We found the shortest motorway in Britain and we did the same thing, this time 8000 people came. We brought in tons of sand to the motorway, so the kids could play in the middle of the fast lane of the motorway as opposed to being killed. We really wanted to subvert the Situationist idea of the carnival. The Situationists talked about the revolutionary moment as carnivalesque. Every revolution has had its moments that could be described as a carnival; people was talking to each other suddenly, laws were breaking down, everything was inverted, the slave was the king for a moment. So instead of waiting for the revolutionary moment, which could feel like a carnival, why don't we create a carnival, which will be the revolutionary moment itself? And part of that was to have these huge figures (we did four) to go up and down the street. They would stop intermittently next to the sound system playing music, and if you were listening really carefully, you could hear the sounds of a jackhammer, because under the dresses of the huge figures people were drilling and planting trees in the middle of the motorway. In reality I think two trees got planted, and they died after about ten hours because after the party was over, the municipality came and did a whole new layer of asphalt on the motorway. So, it was a deeply symbolic act, a very small local micro act of resistance, but the story from this tiny act just went all over the world. It became a myth and it got people inspired in a way that stories can. Stories can change the world, as much as action can, and if you can create an action, which creates a fantastic story, then you are on the winner's side. One of the great thing artists can do is to create these kinds of mythologies and these stories.

In 1999, we had become part of a global social movement network: Peoples Global Action. We launched the idea of having massive carnivals in financial districts across the world while the G8 was having their meeting. There were 75 carnivals of resistance that same day all over the world. These kinds of events were happening in the end of the

nineties, at the same time, and following, the Zapatista uprising. Things all started to come together in what we now know as Seattle, and with the anti globalization/ anti capitalist movements. Culminating in Genoa, and the shooting at of people on European streets, a common practice in the global south, but a less common practice in the global north. Around this time, I kind of thought that we had reached the peak of what is possible to do. I saw a lot of activists starting to burn out, a lot of activists working with the No, No, No! and forgetting the yes and also forgetting their ability to feel. I guess that we all get involved with these kinds of activities because we feel the injustice, but the more we get involved, the more we learn about something, the more we think it is worse than we thought it was when we started. And the more we feel it is worse than when it started, the way in which we can kind off control ourselves is by feeling less, actually by building armour around ourselves.

So, I decided to set up something called The Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army. The idea was to mix two things: the art of clowning and civil disobedience. Clowning has a long tradition in terms of the ability to outwit the authority, to mock authority and authority hates to be mocked. It also has a very deep psychological and spiritual tradition within shamanism, it is about opening yourself to the world, and it is about breaking the armour away. The best clowns don't have skins. The best clowns are these open characters. You don't know if they are male or female, wise or stupid, sad or happy. They break all the dualisms; they become these open bodies to the world. And I wanted to get that and combine it with civil disobedience, partly to make activists feel again, to stop confronting and start confusing the authorities. We set up a methodology to train people and then people would go and take direct action as this character. One of the most important parts of the Clown Army was to try and imagine a political action without an enemy. How can you have militant political action without an enemy? For me working as an artist in social movements is always to try and make radical forms of political struggle irresistible, to actually give them an irresistibility, to make them pleasurable and as beautiful and playful and sublime as any artwork can be.

How do we create events, which change both the world and ourselves at the same time? I think this is where as artist we have so much to contribute. Because if we don't make these struggles, if we can't make another way of living and being together as desirable as capital, then I think we can guarantee that 'business as usual' will continue and I think we all know the consequences of that. So thanks a lot!

This text was transcribed from the presentation.

UNTITLED

by Section8

Once upon a time there was a gang of nameless, drunken cats just barely surviving in the ruins of a rusty old factory amidst a toxic brownfield.

Some generations ago, the cats' forebears had been the lifeblood of a vibrant culture intimately connected to the land and seasons. Nomads, they traveled from region to region as the grey clouds and white snow receded and the lush green plants, spurred by the newfound warmth, opened their leaves to kiss the loving golden sun.

Along their way, they left behind beautiful pictures that spoke of their loves and guided them to where the waters ran cold and fresh and the wheatgrass grew tall and strong.

But all that was past them now. In fact, no one could even remember when the howling armies of purebred dogs came and rounded them all up, built museums to house their pictures and took them to where they now reside.

For the dogs, having no paintings of their own and starving for something to excite their dull senses, the museums of cat artifacts were highly profitable, but the cats themselves were just a burden.

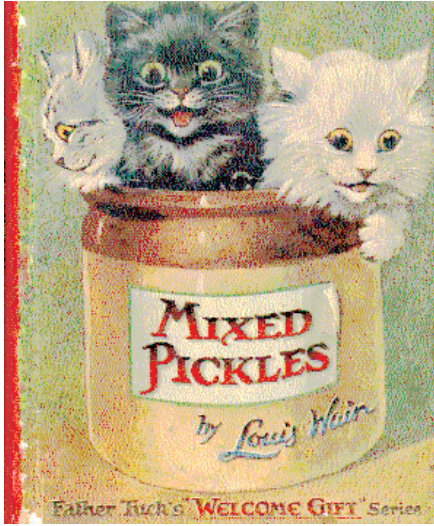
Worse yet, in the wee hours of sobriety, when the bottles ran dry, the cats felt like a burden even to themselves. With the exception of one small group that is, one that had developed immunity to the brew's intoxicating properties.

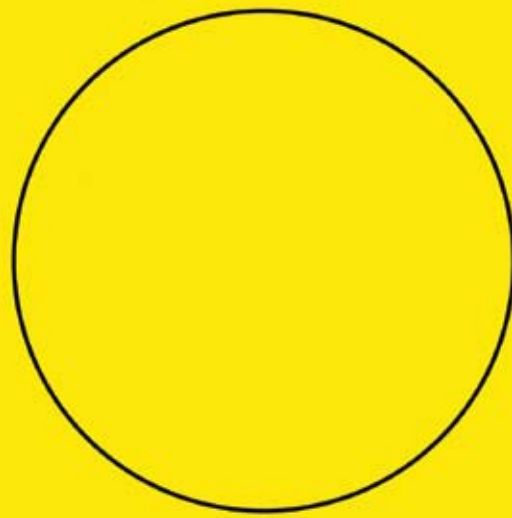
As the seconds became minutes, and the minutes became hours, and the hours became days, and the days became weeks, and the weeks became months, and the months became years and the years became NOTHING, this small group nurtured its courage, unnoticed by the others.

Every night while the wasted cats purred away and the dogs were busy barking at shadows, they would skirt the brownfield, getting closer and closer to its edge until one, by accident, stepped over the line and they all courageously plunged outside.

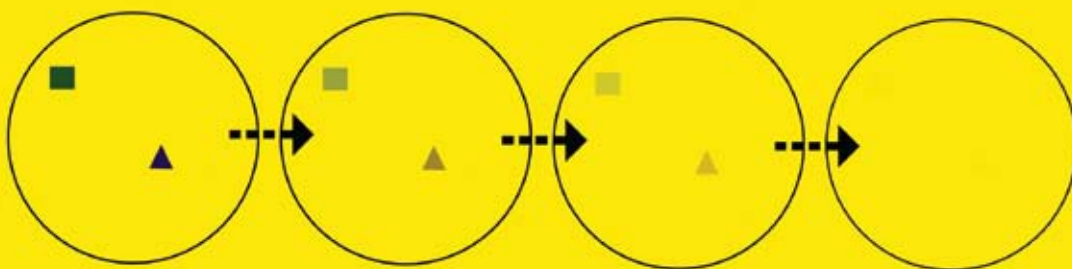
With their hearts pounding and their eyes loaded with moonbeams they drifted, carried along as if by fate, toward the largest of the museums holding their predecessors renowned pictures. There, they found the door left ajar, held open by a half-eaten pig's ear and a chewed-up old cow's bone. Once inside, even though they had never seen the pictures (or even pictures of the pictures for that matter), from the tales told by their elders they felt as though they knew them, yet at the same time they were all morbidly silent.

Intuitively, out of respect for the dead, they began to scratch at the areas surrounding the figures in order to bury them, yet in so doing what was dead began to breath, strangely coming to life. No longer frozen bodies of days long gone, now each figure became a mass of vibrating, energetic lines flowing into the beginnings of unknown forms. And these forms spoke, and the cats listened.



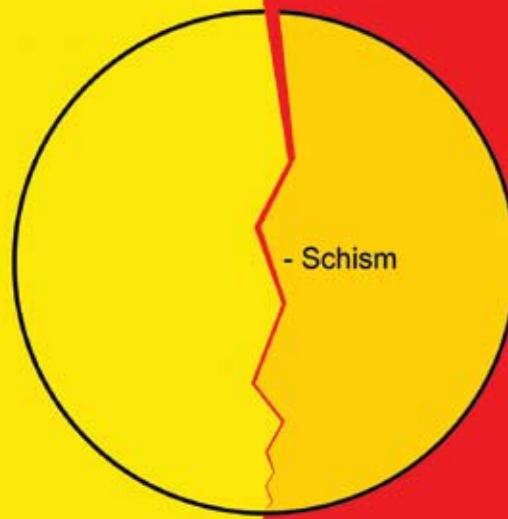


Population in a constrained environment.



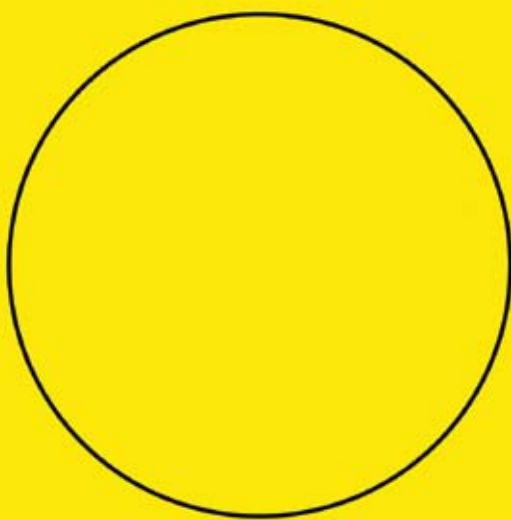
Population, in a constrained environment, with "non-beneficial" mutations selected out.

Separation of population into two differing territories or milieus.

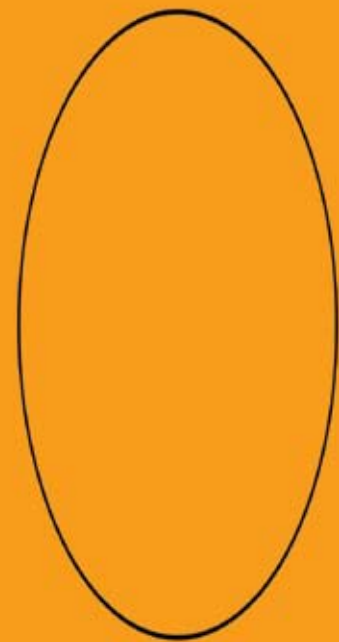


Old Territory

New Territory



Old population and millieu.



New population and milieu
wherein mutation has been
"selected."

Mistress-Rider

"[...]insures the conversion of forces and the inversion of signs."

The Plane of Consistency or Plateau

The plane's composed from the three components shown. Its smoothness, or non-resistance (the unity of objective and lack of blocks), facilitates the transmission of the chosen code from the horse and the mistress-rider to the masochist.

The Body without Organs

Comprised of the intensive flows across the plane of consistency that actualize the BwO's objective, which in this case is the qualitative change in the puissance of the masochist..

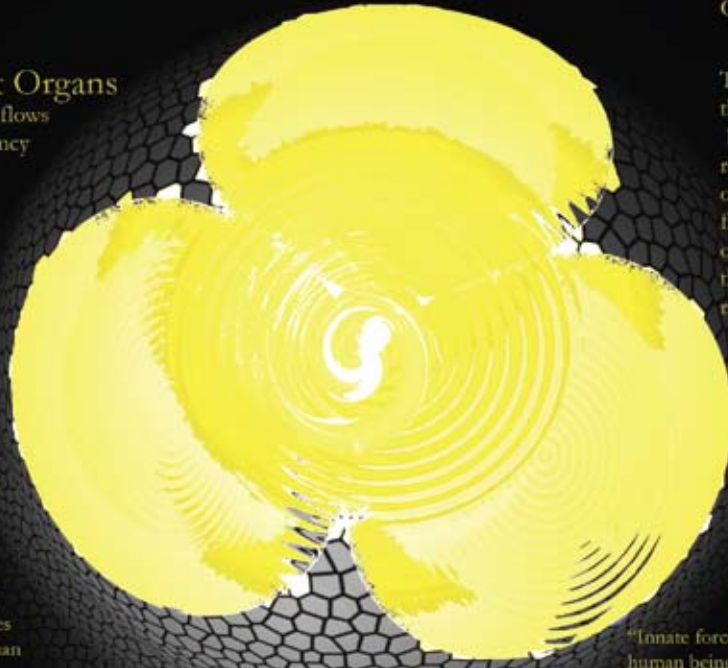
Masochist

"Force transmitted by the horse, innate force of human being."

Innate does not indicate transcendence. Once the masochist acquires the desired forces of the horse, they become his innate forces, just as the forces the horse acquired from the human become its innate forces.

Horse

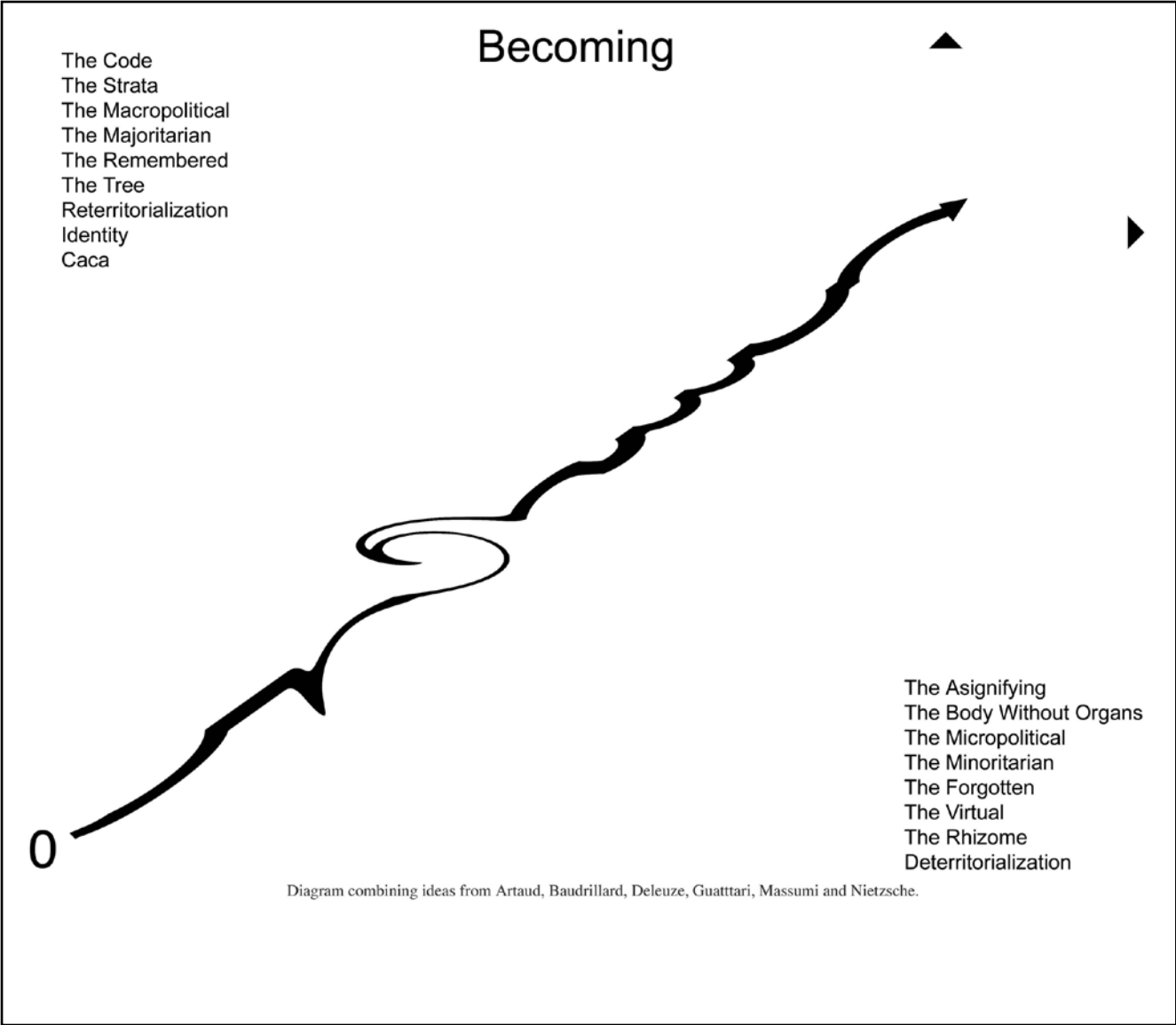
"Innate force, force transmitted by the human being."



The Assemblage

As described in Deleuze and Guattari's *How to Make Oneself a Body without Organs*

Outcomes: The masochist becomes closer to the mistress, learns to give himself over to her, feeling her more intensely. While in a more general sense, he learns patience and the ability to follow. He also learns to respect women's power. The transformation doesn't happen without the experience coming out of the program.



This diagram is derived from Brian Massumi's description of the constructivist political praxis he articulates in an essay entitled *Requiem for Our Prospective Dead*¹. It's meant to describe a non-binary line of production having two sides, each facing different polarities that it travels between. On the one side, it adds new categories to the dominant system, opening it up to greater diversity, while on the other, these new categories are themselves undermined so as to not become imprisoning. As new categories in the "real" are introduced, new potentialities in the unknown are allowed for, thereby bringing about an ever-expanding window of possibility.

¹Massumi, Brian. 1998. *Requiem for Our Prospective Dream*, Polygraph, Vol. 10, pp. 115-141. ¹Massumi, Brian. 1998. *Requiem for Our Prospective Dream*, Polygraph, Vol. 10, pp. 115-141.

UNLIMITED LIABILITY

by Michel Chevailier

An extension of the target: auto-pop, exhibition, workshop/concert/debate series, Unlimited Liability is a store which sells artists multiples for 30 Euros and less stickers, DVDs, CDs, posters, zines, t-shirts, buttons, food, apparel, services, and work, whose form is to be determined in the course of exchange with the purchaser. The only media excluded are painting and drawing. What makes the project different from other multiples shops and affordable art fairs is that it attempts to take the democratization-of-art project into as-yet untested waters. The DIY approach of alternative production/distribution is protected by a firewall against cooptation. This is done by a legally binding contract, which stipulates that no purchaser may have more than 50,000 Euros in assets, subject to penalty in case of false disclosure. The art world or gallery system that partitions the audiences, those who merely appropriate symbolically on the one side, and the real buyers on the other, is thereby inverted. Those able to buy at unlimited liability belong to social groups normally excluded, due to their insufficient resources, from buying on the art market. This state of affairs is shown as much as the works on sale. Thanks to a temporary use agreement, Unlimited Liability has made its way into the (flood-damaged) basement of a public housing building, across the street from a new social-housing complex which includes outreach centers for the homeless and the mentally ill. The project operates in summer (open windows offset the smell of mildew). Previous instalments were June 10-July 2, 2006 and June 9 to August 25, 2007. The current edition is August 1 to September 14, 2008.¹

In February 2008, I spoke at YNKB about what motivated me to start this project. I mentioned some people whose thoughts and actions had informed my approach: Howard Zinn, Oscar Negt/Alexander Kluge, Pierre Bourdieu, the Internationale Situationniste, Rosario Group, the Russian Productivists. I also sketched the legal loophole that the Unlimited Liability contract is based on. At some length (perhaps testing, somewhat, the concentration of the very friendly and receptive YNKB audience) I also responded to a charge that was levelled at this project, that while [Unlimited Liability's] aim of limited redistribution of value will serve some artists well and no doubt will redistribute certain art forms in an innovative way that is also beneficial to a community of consumers, the central problem (...) is that it assumes that the community is fundamentally organized around commodity exchange.[†]

I examined three passages in Marx's oeuvre relating to the rise and operative nature of capitalist exchange processes relating also, in my view, to what Unlimited Liability does (and doesn't do).

1. German Ideology (1845) where Marx pinpoints the adoption

¹ See www.targetautonopop.org for participants and scheduled events.

of *Jus utendi et abotendi* (the right of using and disposing) as the juncture where English Civil Law begins to shield individual private property from collective will and scrutiny.

2. Grundrisse (1857-58) where Marx, attacking Proudhon, also strikes at the pseudo-egalitarian assumptions of contract law: As if someone were to say: seen from the perspective of society, there are no slaves and no citizens: both are human beings. Rather, they are that outside society. To be a slave, to be a citizen, are social characteristics, relations between human beings.

3. Capital Vol. 1 (1867) where Marx elaborates his critique of the commodity-form. Marx distinguishes: things (of nature), products, and commodities. Commodities are part-and-parcel of what we today call a free-market exchange system insofar as

- a. Any one commodity can be exchanged for any other (innumerable other members of the world of commodities).
- b. They can all be exchanged via the special commodity, the universal equivalent money.

The result is a concealing of social determinants. Men are henceforth related to each other in their social process of production in purely atomistic way. Their own relations of production therefore assume a material shape which is independent of their control and of their conscious individual action. I had always maintained that Unlimited Liability transactions are not economically within the free market. The Marxian framework confirms the non-commodity nature of what is sold in this project. Transactions in Unlimited Liability do the following:

1. Re-socialize the exchange process. The Unlimited Liability contract differentiates individuals according to social determinants, namely assets and, to some extent, class.

2. Assign money a role at odds with its assigned universal equivalent of function. Accumulated money in a potential buyer's bank account plays against the money he or she can lay down on the counter.

3. Furthermore, Unlimited Liability disables the use-value art indeed has, by custom, taken on under capitalism: that of a money-placement option for investors. The contract limits who can buy the work and how it can be resold.

Unlimited Liability employs art-practice, mediation, and discourse against the art-market and its protagonists. It sells art-production, not art-commodities. I hope more artists will soon do so as well, and the contract will soon be downloadable on our website.

SOLIDARITY AND ARTISTS

by Kirsten Forkert

I've recently started a PhD about looking at working conditions for artists in three different cities, and I'm also looking at labour organising for artists. I'm also doing a social sciences project without a background in social sciences (other than what I've done involving interviews in projects and so on, and the PhD came from wanting to actually learn more about social sciences methods rather than appropriating them). But what I can do is talk about one of the starting points, thinking about artists in relation to that unfashionable but unavoidable concept, solidarity.

I want to start by describing an incident where I brought up the term solidarity, and it felt completely uncool and anachronistic even as I said it, I could practically feel it in my mouth. The discussion was about networked forms of communication, my question was about why we actually would want to communicate, and what we are communicating. I brought up the term solidarity, to raise the political stakes, so it would not just become a celebration of communications, networks and information technology for its own sake, or worse, a belief in the inherent democratic potential of communications technology. My little intervention was immediately and predictably dismissed as old-fashioned leftism. After this incident, it struck me that solidarity is on one hand a vital, and even unavoidable concept, and on the other hand is relegated to a previous era of political organising, quaint and obsolete.

So I will reflect on this paradox. I will also reflect on what solidarity might mean for us as artists, researchers, and activists. I don't claim to have all the answers, in fact many of you would probably know much more about these issues than me. This is why I won't speak for very long and this will mostly be speculation. Solidarity is a complicated term and there are many competing definitions, within many different fields. I've only just scratched the surface, but one useful definition I was able to find came from the Autonomous Geographies project, which are a group of activist geographers in Leeds:

"Solidarity refers to the feeling of unity based on common goals, interests, and sympathies. It is a term, which is promoted by many social movements to help create social relationships based on justice and equality."

I think the concept of social relationships based on justice and equality, is an interesting one because of its openness. It's very close to the anarchist concept of affinity, which is about those who work together on specific issues or campaigns, a common activity, role or skill but who also retain autonomy. This is useful in that solidarity is not based on identity categories, which lend themselves to coalition building. What is also interesting is that a Google search

turned up a British alternative trade union entitled Solidarity, which is based on nationalist principles, they call for an end to what they call mass migration, common goals and sympathies in this case are understood in narrow and essentialist ethnic or cultural terms.

Solidarity is a fringe group, but this sentiment also echoes something much more mainstream, which is the string of xenophobic legislation passed by the British labour party, which also includes proposed measures to legislate a sense of social cohesion, including a national holiday and teaching patriotism in the schools. Last year, Gordon Brown even made a speech calling for British Jobs for British Workers, on a stage decked out in the red, white and blue of the Union Jack. This is a slogan that has been used by the British National Party and the National Front, in fight-for-the-bottom logic that pits white working class British citizens against immigrants, flattening and narrowing the definition of solidarity. Both the racism of that statement, and its neat, seductive simplicity could be both seen as an inability to deal with those complexities, and a symptom of the larger crisis pointed out in brief: militarization, impending environmental disaster, the loss of civil liberties and diminishing social mobility. In this context, fight-for-the-bottom logic becomes very appealing, especially for a government desperately trying to capture votes from the right. It is also very easy to reduce the concept of solidarity to very narrow forms of identification and identity politics (I want what is best for my demographic but not for anyone else). I think of the endless debates over demographics and Hilary Clinton and Barack Obama, who women will vote for, who African Americans will vote for, and the ensuing controversy over who African American women will vote for, which Melissa Harris Lacewell discussed in Hilary Clinton & the Black Woman's Vote- Mammy Goes to Washington?

These scenarios are ironically very far from Marx's Workers of the World Unite, and the assertion of principles of internationalism, because nationalism works against class solidarity. However, all these scenarios also lead to the larger question of what is supposed to form the basis of common goals, interests and sympathies, especially when you don't have the same religion, speak the same language, live the same experiences of gender, race or class, or have the same cultural references. I feel it's very important to ask right now, why is it so difficult to think of solidarity in other terms than nationalism, social normativity or clash of civilisations, rhetoric that pits Eurocentric modernity against the barbarism of the global South, represented of course by the suicide bomber or the figure of the Muslim woman with the headscarf. And it is vitally important to look to other examples and remember other histories. If solidarity is both a very difficult and necessary concept,

then what does it mean to think of solidarity for artists? This comes back to questions of what do artists have in common as a group. Richard Florida has talked about artists as the creative class. Maurizio Lazzarato, against the thrust of much of his work, thinks that the creative class does not exist, arguing that artists in a group occupy different political positions, with varying degrees of socio economic privilege, in other words, that artists are as disparate of a cross section of the public as any. The art field is also marked by what Bourdieu has called struggles for position (aesthetic dominance), as in those endless debates of painting vs. installation art which partly we are completely sick of, but also in a certain way we can't dismiss, to the extent to which certain practices have such a strong relationship with the market. There are many examples of artists who work through the market, but who are involved in solidarity movements, one historical example being Artists and Writers against the Vietnam War in 1965. It can be argued that forms of solidarity can and do exist within market structures. However I feel it is also important to ask to what extent does the art market, and the structures, codes and power relations that make it up, limit the possibilities for solidarity, returning to the definition again of social relationships based on justice and equality?

Following from this, I also feel it is necessary to ask, to what extent does the art market entrench traditional definitions of the artist: the charismatic, exemplary individual, who is also imagined generally to be white and male? If this is any indication, a 2006 survey of Chelsea galleries in New York by the feminist collective the Brainstormers Report showed that key art galleries had an 80% male roster, and the vast majority had an over 60% male roster. In an article on gender discrimination in the arts, Ben Davis wondered about how much the new art scene entrenches old boy's club dynamics. Another very loaded question is to what extent do certain conventional values of the art world limit principles of solidarity, again defined as social relationships based on justice and equality? Here I'm talking about individualism, competition and meritocracy and faith in a star system, which, a truism to say, benefits a very few people and leave the rest of us scrambling for the crumbs.

These values and hierarchies are completely embedded in arts education, cultural policy and career structures. They have become a common sense and the art world defaults back to them in conservative times. I know that all of us have been working very hard in publicly questioning these values, and one of the reasons why it's such an uphill battle is because of their historical weight and authority. It could be argued that they date back to the Renaissance (when creativity was seen as human and not divine) but mostly to the 18th century, when creativity was seen as the property of exceptional individuals. Sociologist Pierre Michel Menger, in *Artistic Labour markets and careers*, describes the star system structure existed for novelists in 19th century Paris, which was basically many novelists for very few opportunities. Menger argues that ideas of talent and genius in this context were what led people to ultimately accept this situation as normal and natural rather than trying to work together to change it.

There is of course a long and very important history of artists involvement in international solidarity movements. I feel these are very important and vital, as an attempt to imagine and enact solidarity, especially across national borders. As both society and the art world globalize (the art world being very much implicated in the processes of globalisation), it's crucial to both create and build on existing relationships of social justice and equality on an international scale, to counter both the Eurocentrism and xenophobia mentioned earlier, but also the cultural nationalism that seems to be guiding much cultural policy these days (whether it's about canons and national heritage, or the more neoliberal cultural nationalism of nation branding).

Many of us are involved in these initiatives. But I do wonder why it's so much easier to find examples of this form of solidarity, than attempts to confront the power structures and conditions within our own field, some of which are now being generalised to society (this is what I mean by permanent insecurity, exemplified by the increasing casualisation of work and cuts to welfare and other state benefits, at the same time as the entrepreneurialism of the creative industries is being so heavily promoted, again, partly thanks to Richard Florida). Here I think we not only need to ask questions about the art market, but also about the current fashionable interest in creativity as an engine of economic growth. I feel it's also important to ask to what degree does creativity, as it is defined by creative industries policies, limit the possibilities for social relationships based on justice and equality. I recently saw a presentation by Jaron Rowan of YProductions in Barcelona. He was talking about an initiative in a poor region of Spain to develop a prize for the most creative local resident. I think it's very revealing that this initiative involved a winner and a prize, and of course many losers.

I will now talk about some interesting and problematic historical examples of labour organising for artists (though as I'm at the beginning of my research I admit I haven't done a lot so far). Some examples of these are CARFAC (or Canadian Artists Representation), which started in 1968 and still exists and the Artist's Union in the UK (founded in 1972, ended in the 1980s). Both organisations reveal some interesting contradictions, in terms of what it means to mobilise for better conditions for artists. Both organisations were significant in that they acknowledged that cultural production is work. CARFAC focused mainly on copyright, contracts and fees, demanding artists be paid, and countering the endemic condition of unpaid labour in the arts. The problems of this approach was revealed two years ago when the Canadian government tried to pass a law that would define appropriation (which could include samples and collaged images) as a copyright infringement. CARFAC supported the law, while another group of artists, many of who worked with appropriated images or sounds, circulated a petition against it. The UK artist's union was broader in scope in that it sought affiliation with other unions, and also lobbied around copyright, contract and taxes. While the work that was done was very important, and I think the demise of the UK artists union is a very real loss, a casualty of the Thatcher regime, it is also important to question

their reformist nature. Neither CARFAC nor the UK artists union challenged conventional definitions of intellectual property or the star system in a serious way. This leads me to another question: how does one try to fight for artists rights, and at the same time challenge the definitions of the artist and the structures of the art world that pose a problem for relationships of equality and social justice, and in defining artists and the art field as unique, make it more difficult to form solidarity with others.

I think there are two tasks at hand: The first task is to try to develop and build on forms of alternative infrastructure (arts education, funding, networks and so on) which are not about competition or meritocracy or celebrity, but are based on solidarity, which I am defining here as social relationships of justice and equality. Many of us are involved in these initiatives. The second task is a critical one, and it's to reveal the forms of exploitation within the art world right now, and the role that culture is playing within larger structures of exploitation, especially that culture is now become such an integrated part of the economy and policy.

I will now discuss an initiative I'm currently involved in, which is the Micropolitics group at Goldsmiths and an event we're currently organising. We're organising a walking tour to visit various cultural institutions in London, including Iniva and Gasworks, the 56a social centre and possibly the Olympics site. But instead of looking at the art, we're asking people who work there to talk about the working conditions at these places. For example, at Iniva we will ask someone to speak about the consequences of buying the new building and the sponsorship by Barclays Bank, and how a space that came out of anti racist organising now promotes a kind of corporate multiculturalism. We are also going to look at the practice of these spaces hiring free interns, and how organisations are often forced into these situations by funding structures. We will also talk about the need for spaces for grassroots activity. We're involving Brian Holmes in the event and he will act as a respondent and give a seminar the next day.

This text was trascribed from the presentation

LET'S RE-MAKE THE FOODSYSTEM

by Claire Pentecost

When I started my research in the global (a.k.a. American) food system some years ago, I was first motivated by a basic question: Why is our food so cheap?

The short answers are: 1. Consumerism: In a consumer society you can't have everyone spending all their money on necessities; food has to be cheap so that people have extra money to keep buying all the useless crap the global economy depends on. 2. Revolution: If people don't have something in their bellies they have been known to riot and make revolution, so you have to fill them up on something affordable. 3. Modernization: Our idea of progress is biased in favor of the urban and the high-tech, so that things rural, especially if they are low-tech, are consistently undervalued. 4. Misogyny: All things that have to do with reproduction of life on a daily basis are associated with the primary reproducers of human life: women. These things are also consistently undervalued.

When I call our food cheap, I mean this in every sense of the word: cheap in the sense of poor quality which is ruining our health and also cheap in the sense that it doesn't cost much to the consumer—most of this poisonous food is unnaturally inexpensive in the United States, which is to say that it does not reflect the true cost of growing it.

I'm going to spend some time here describing particulars of the US diet because this is the dominant system arising in the 20th century and for decades now it is being exported to other parts of the world.

Americans spend a lot on food, but for individuals, the percent of a given household's budget is less than for most people in the world - 10 percent of our budget instead of 30 or 50 percent in other countries. We spend more than any nation on healthcare, but in terms of the quality of our health, we are ranked number 37 among the so-called developed nations. We are not a healthy people, even though we are among the richest and we use so many of the world's resources. Now two-thirds of the people in my country are either overweight or obese, and there is a panoply of new healthcare problems stemming from that.

So despite our wealth, we are basically undernourished and over-fat. This is a new phenomenon, where people are showing diseases from poor nourishment, but also the diseases from eating too much of the wrong things. This is also happening in other countries in different patterns and especially in the trail of westernization.

Our food is less nutritious because of the whole system from the soil in which we grow our food to the way it is processed. So let's look at it:

1. Growing. The industrial system does not create healthy soil and you have to have good soil in order to produce good food. We compensate for poorly maintained soil with fossil fuel-based artificial fertilizers and excess irrigation water, things that make food grow fast but without the complex range of nutrients that humans need. In addition the genetic varieties we grow are chosen for high yield and for durability in shipping and for cosmetic value instead of for nutritional content. The actual nutritional content of basic foods like grains, beans, and vegetables has declined, especially in the second half of the 20th century.

For efficiency we practice monoculture, or planting only a few varieties of crops, which makes them acutely vulnerable to pests of all kinds, so the system depends on fossil fuel-based pesticides which become ubiquitous in our environment meaning they are in us too. Our intake of these toxins also compromises our bodies' ability to absorb whatever nutrients are in the food.

The reason for all this of course is the need to make profit off of detachable aspects of a system that can be controlled by parties off the farm. These detachable aspects are the synthetic fertilizers, increasingly high-tech irrigation systems and mechanization, chemical inputs and intellectually patented hybrid seeds. In this system what is considered valuable stays in the hands of corporations selling these factors and not in the soil itself. To create really healthy, nontoxic soil you have to recycle organic matter into it, encouraging beneficial microbes and insects, rotate a wide range of crop varieties, and not compact the soil with heavy machinery. In that case the value would stay in the soil itself and in the deeply developed knowledge of the farmer. This would not do much for corporate profits.

2. The food itself. Once again the capitalist principle of investing to make a profit rules. It begins with the seeds, which are intellectually patented, hybrid varieties designed for monocultures grown under the system I just described. If farmers were using time-honored methods of agricultural biodiversity to create a wide variety of crops bred for nutrition and flavor (which are intricately connected: the more flavor a food has the more complex nutritional content), our food would be very different. But instead we grow a shockingly small variety of crops. How to make such a monotonous surfeit of the same into a diet people will actually eat? Enter processing, also ruled by profit motive. The mountains of monocrops—corn, wheat and soy—are put through high-tech procedures, which separate all the value so that profits can be maximized. For instance, corn will be processed to take out all the elements that can be sold on another market—for animal feed, glue, fuels, plastics and oils—and then some part of the remainder will be

transformed into a novelty food product, like a corn-based snack food or cereal. After so much of its value has been siphoned off, the leftover corn stuff is made edible through cheap additives: cheaper oils like unhealthy palm or cottonseed oil, artificial ingredients to add flavor and “improve” texture, and plenty of salt or sugar. Depending on the food, a whole list of synthetic vitamins will be added to it. At every stage of this process the food is being degraded and someone is making money off that degradation.

3. Eating habits. If we are eating this food we are not eating whole foods. Increasingly we are understanding that the human body has evolved to work best off the complex interplay of nutrients found only in whole foods. We also pay no attention to the balance of foods taken in the course of a day, a factor that also influences our ability to absorb the nutrition of what we eat.

The bias that rules farming, the idea that you can separate out all the values and then reapply what’s needed from a cheaper source, also rules so-called nutritional science. We think we can isolate things considered valuable and then mix and match them according to the most profitable methods: instead of thinking in terms of whole foods, it is a system of the general equivalence of micro nutrients, like vitamin C, A or E or essential minerals like iron and magnesium. This paradigm of interchangeable values is contradictory in itself because we are replacing one marketable value with a cheaper one, but as a logic it is consistent all down the line.

The farmer is subjected to a similar process—everything of value in what she might do to produce food is taken out and displaced so that some other player in the system can profit off of it. The value of genetic variety is moved to the laboratories and law offices of giant corporations and protected as intellectual property. The value a farmer might bring to cultivating rich living soil is moved to the corporation that produces and markets artificial fertilizer. The knowledge a farmer might bring to integrated pest management is moved to the makers of chemical fungicides, microbicides, herbicides and pesticides. The knowledge of water preservation in slow-growing nutritious foods is displaced by high-tech, big contract irrigation systems. The skill it takes to rotate a variety of crops to enrich soil and protect against pests is displaced by fuel-intensive mechanization and the makers of capital-intensive farm machinery. The farmer is reduced to a low-skilled operator of machinery and follower of instructions so that all the value he may have once embodied is displaced to interchangeable parts of a fordist or industrial profit making system.

The person we call a farmer in this system is a manager and part of what is managed is low-paid labor. In the U.S. we depend on immigrant labor to harvest our food and process it. Without proper working papers these laborers from Mexico and other South American countries are called illegal immigrants. Their presence is welcome up to a point because the system requires a disempowered labor force to keep the cost of producing food low. But since their existence in the U.S. is criminalized, they suffer the threat of

deportation if they try to organize. This is a structural under-employment situation so that there is always a pool of labor willing to work in terrible conditions.

There is a similar situation in Europe. For instance, I have done some research in Southern Spain, where most of the “off-season” vegetables are produced industrially for northern Europe in hectares of plastic greenhouses, causing a depletion of the water table and leaving pesticide residues in the water that persists. There, the system is dependent on North African immigrants who are not granted legal documents and suffer the same kinds of bias and insecurity that Mexicans suffer in the U.S.

Unfortunately this kind of system extends to many parts of the world. I went to China last year and learned that you have a different status if you are registered with the government as a rural person or an urban person. People registered outside the cities have less access to benefits. So what they have is a situation now where they have this massive migration of people who are registered in the rural districts. They are looking for work, and they come to this urban expansion. They are basically illegal; they don’t have the same rights, they are not entitled to benefits. Many of them wind up growing food in peri-urban areas to service the city. I was perhaps naively amazed that in China where, along with the soldier and the worker, the peasant is a valorized figure, the growers of food are actually at the bottom. Even in a communist country the bias toward the urban and technological organizes a hierarchy.

I am thinking about the ways that we approach these issues, and thinking about how we need to learn and to proceed. A troubling example is the case of organic foods. Over the last 10 years or so, as people become aware of the defects in our food system, demand for something better has made organic foods the fastest growing sector of food marketing. This has had two results: one is the growth of a two-tiered food system: cheap food for poorer people and good food for rich people. Because if organic is done right, the food has to reflect the true cost of growing it. This is compounded by a crucial factor I haven’t even mentioned yet: conventional or nonorganic agriculture runs on enormous government subsidies, so most of that degraded food is actually underwritten by our taxes. Organic receives no subsidies.

The other result of the demand for organic is that organic has been industrialized. What people once thought of as organic in the 1960s and ’70s has turned into these very technical production standards, where if you don’t use chemicals or genetically engineered crops, and you don’t put raw sewage on your crops, you can register as organic. Meanwhile, these large-scale operations are still growing fossil fuel-intensive monocultures, practicing conventional processing, packaging and distribution, and exploiting criminalized labor.

What went wrong? The profitable part of what is loosely called organic was separated out from the parts that constitute a real change in how we grow food and how we eat.

So we can't allow one aspect of what we are trying to do to be exploited. We have seen this repeatedly, even in my lifetime, in the 1960s in general, with the demands for cultural liberation and more flexible, creative lives. People didn't want work in the 9 to 5 industrial or factory system. So now we have flexible labor; we have creative economy. Counter-cultural politics becomes counter-cultural entertainment and marketing, because these things were separated from the social aspirations, the demand for a more equitable distribution of cultural and material resources. They didn't change the power relations. Take the example of AIDS activism, in many ways an exemplary movement where all kinds of changes have been made, in terms of patient-oriented protocols, empowering legislation, money, different research methods, and trial periods. They have accomplished a lot. The kinds of drugs they have come up with are amazing, but who gets them and what do they cost? Once again we have a deepening of the two-tiered system, where there is decent health care for people with money and insurance but devastating illness for those are not considered entitled to these things.

We have to constantly ask ourselves, what is it that we want? I venture that we want socially and ecologically sustainable systems. A simple definition is in order here. Unsustainable means, If we keep doing it, more people will suffer and eventually it collapses. Sustainable means, If we keep doing it, people and our natural environment will be enriched and our resources will be more and more equitably available. So you have to keep the ecological, human and social aspects all in the equation and not lose sight of how they interrelate. And we have to struggle for new ways of doing things in which the process is ours. One of the problems with the consumer-based society is that is everything is done for us and on terms dictated by someone else. We have to learn to do things for ourselves, which is very complicated but is the only prospect for real empowerment.

So what are some of the more positive possibilities we might see in our society? Here I want to introduce a little theory. I'm drawing on some of the work of the German sociologist, Ulrich Beck. His concept of "the risk society," outlined in his book of the same name, applies to developed nations such as ours in which we have post-scarcity conditions; scarcity is no longer the problem; instead we are facing new risks, the unintended consequences or latent side effects of our modernized life-support systems.

We're talking about things like nuclear waste, pesticides, global warming etc. These risks can be characterized briefly:

1. They extend in time and space, it is hard to even calculate how grave they are, when they are going to come back to bite us, and how long they will last. Under these conditions national boundaries become meaningless, because you can't contain the risks.
2. They are mostly invisible; we know about them but we can't see them, so we have generalized anxiety, but it is very hard to know where to apply our efforts. The risks are

often talked about as if they are in the future, although we are clearly suffering from them now. Problems are happening, but in general, it is difficult to pinpoint cause and effect by conventional scientific methods, so ideologically causes can be displaced.

3. They are not convincingly mastered by anyone. The techno-scientific authority that we have depended on for decisions and trust are now riddled with contradictions. It is very hard to determine which experts to believe, both because of a record of exaggerated claims and because they increasingly contradict each other. And then on top of that, there are vested interests. We repeatedly learn that the experts we want to trust have financial interests or career interests in the matter they are making pronouncements about. In general, the sciences' monopoly on rationality is broken.

4. They organize society in new ways. As much as being divided according to access to resources, society is more and more divided by risk positions. How vulnerable is a given individual or group is to certain risks and hazards, like pollution or bad food? These are new definitions of inequality.

5. They increasingly burden the individual. To protect oneself from risk, access to knowledge grows more and more crucial.

At the same time as we are being redefined by risk, Beck says that the practices of individuation that are part of modernization create a certain expectation of self-determination. People start to expect that they have more power and control in their lives.

Simultaneously, we have this unprecedented system of media and communications. What this adds up to is what he calls reflexive modernization. We have the tools to examine and see the problems in our authority systems, and we have the tools to reflect on these and where we are in them.

I give this simplified introduction to Beck's theories to set the stage for an idea I have been developing for a while now, that of the "public amateur."

This is the person who consents to learn in public.

It is a proposition of active social participation in which any nonspecialist is empowered to take the initiative to question something within a given discipline, acquire knowledge in a noninstitutionally sanctioned way, and assume the authority to interpret that knowledge, especially in regard to decisions that affect our lives. The motive is not to replace the specialist, but to augment specialization with other models that have legitimate claims to producing and interpreting knowledge and to include questions of value which most specializations are designed to exclude. It must be public because the idea is to pursue knowledge with very transparent stakes in a space where the interest of the parties involved can be exposed to scrutiny. By being public, the knowledge generated is improved by input from

other people.

In this model the effort may be a failure but since it is public we share the knowledge gained from failures. It involves saying, "I'm going to try this, and I don't really know what I'm doing. You are welcome to help." Because actually, now, what we need to know, nobody knows. We need to figure out how to make the world we need and we need to involve ourselves in that making. It's not like someone can just tell us how it should be. Not that there are not a lot of models and knowledge out there to share, but I think it is something no one is going to do for us, certainly not Monsanto or BP ...

I want specify some of the positions or methods in this model are: 1. amateur research, 2. self- experimentation in one's own life, 2. collective experimentation with other people, 3. unregulated discourse—both face to face and via the internet, 4. using media to expose the interests of authorities, and 5.collaboration with experts, people who are specialists, but are brave enough to question the conventions of credibility that rule their fields.

One example of self-experimentation would be the "100 mile diet" which was practiced several years ago by two Canadians, Alisa Smith and J.B. MacKinnon. To test the viability of truly eating locally, they said that for a year they would only eat food that came from within a 100-mile radius of where they were living, and then of course they documented it and made a website and a book. They did it, but it was very, very difficult, and they had to make a lot of sacrifices. But these kinds of experiments start to detail what has to change in our system. In order to make a new rationale livable, what must be the priority? What are our methods, for instance, for preserving seasonal foods etc.? What foods might be worth the resources of shipping over longer distances? It helps to start sketching out what's needed. I think it also inspires people who are really disturbed and feel that they can do nothing. Now there are a growing number of trials like this, e.g. No-Impact Man in New York City, the fiction writer, Barbara Kingsolver, in her book "Animal, Vegetable, Miracle," just to name a couple.

This is only one form, but it exists in a continuum of efforts that might be called the local food security movement. This is something that has really been growing in Chicago, and I know in a lot of other places, too. I have seen a lot of developments in my city, and one of the things I'm talking about is urban agriculture systems, such as Growing Power, Growing Home, City Farm. We have community gardens and food centers which are excellent social spaces, where people can be trained to grow their own food or somehow be part of an alternative system, share skills and share labor, because many methods of seed saving and exchange, preserving food, are things don't want do by yourself. There are a growing number of really large-scale composting operations, using all the waste from restaurants and institutions, yard and park composting, biological worm systems on raised beds on top of concrete. In some of these systems, the worms are in the soil, and the food is growing in the same soil, it is inside a simple plastic hoop house and

even though it is freezing in Chicago in the winter, the sun and the activity of the worms creates enough warmth to run these little food structures without fossil fuels. People are figuring out all kinds of stuff.

I realize that the food system is only one part of our existence, but it is the basic model of care exercised by society towards its people and other living things. Everyone depends on it and it is connected to every kind of issue: the quality of our environment, the way we use energy and fuels, labor, trade and international relations. It is also a place where so much can be done, individually and collectively.

STATEMENTS

a psst

from Parfyme

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When winter's duvet covers us and it's rainy and cold, there still has to be something to keep us warm. Right now it is scooters, something with speed, entertainment. But it has to be more than that; you have to see and feel yourself as being part of something you believe in, something creating energy under the duvet.

Whether we – or I – want it or not, this circus, circus Denmark, is going somewhere. The laws speak a language which can be interpreted in various ways, but they are not neutral. That the political possibilities are put forward as simple questions (for or against?), or not even questions. That lacking recognition of the real consequences of the pursued policy contributes to a development in which small enclaves fight each other in order to maintain their version of the truth; it seems wrong. All the things that are created on a progressive drive, on constructive energy, are a part of the circus. They cannot make it on themselves. These products and ideas shouldn't just be delivered into a world of indifference and suspicion. They are fragile, the creative and constructive thoughts, here like anywhere else. Only that the threats against them are different depending on where one is situated in the world. Is cultural support really only peanuts, arrangements, projects, wall sheets and colours – and nothing else? In comparison with a declaration of war without proper basis or recognition of the consequences, it seems unimportant.

And when – in the media-debate – any hateful contribution can stigmatize, throw suspicion on and ascribe suspect motives to everyone who has other priorities than the majority, well, then it seems so utterly unimportant.

For us (young people, in the progress of shaping our lives, carriers (?), with plans, visions, fantasy, power and, GOD forbid it, a belief in the future (hell, we are the future), for us the image of Denmark is not primarily determined by levels of income and supportive arrangements, but by feelings, atmospheres, and most of all: The possibility of seeing yourself participate in the society. But the society, the coherence, therefore has to let a possibility stand open to the participant. And what is most strongly felt in Denmark right now is segregation of the coherence, exclusion instead of inclusion. We speak very little about how we are to create a society for everyone in the future, but we speak a lot about who cannot participate, if our society is to function, when? (and what about getting started!). We are interested in finding out where to channel our energy. To see a possibility of participation is a very decisive condition for the belief in a future where one is. It is bloody important.

In the spring of 2001 we demanded: All Power to the Copenhagen Free University. We had just opened a free university in our home in the Nørrebro district of Copenhagen, and this impossible demand was put forward in the form of a manifesto intended to provoke and unsettle the collective imaginary and open new potential paths of action. We wanted to take power.

The manifesto was written in a very specific socio-political context preceding September 11th 2001. It was written in a mood of confidence. With the Copenhagen Free University we wanted to reclaim power and help undermine the so-called 'knowledge economy' - a term used to describe the new economy that was consolidating around the turn of the millennium. The unrolling of the knowledge economy was a part of the neoliberal campaign for control orchestrated by the financial and political elites and the term made clear what kind of ambition was at the core of this campaign: the financialisation of our brains, our nervous systems, our subjectivity, our desires, our selves.

In the midst of the unrolling of this economy, we intended to push the limits of the simple actions that could stem the invasion of our lives by the abstract calculations of capitalist valorisation. It was our intention to picket the social factory, preventing an imminent and clearly hostile take over. We opened our flat as a space for social research and exploration within a context shaped by the hard material facts, fluctuating passions and affective instabilities that characterized our daily life. We wanted to turn the tide. We took power by using the available means: a mattress became a residency, the bedroom a cinema, the living room a meeting space, the workroom an archive. Opening our private space turned it into a public institution. The Copenhagen Free University was a real collective phantom, hovering.

At the same time, many art workers in their hunt for a new function in society and new sources of income were getting involved in the corridors and boardrooms of the companies and corporations of the neoliberal economy. The artists acted as consultants and legitimators in branding and business activities relating to new ethical and social responsibility schemes and human resource management. The anger and hopes of the revolutionary avant garde had been deemed naive and artists were adapting to a new landscape of immaterial production. This told such a sad and futile story about society's lost ability to dream.

When turning to the education sector we saw that universities across the globe were increasingly restructuring and adapting to corporate practices. Ideas of autonomy and independence in research were quickly falling out of fashion. Not only was the usability of the knowledge produced in universities becoming a contested area, the distribution of intellectual property was becoming a key lever in the new economy. The Copenhagen Free University made it clear that universities do not necessarily have to reflect the hegemonic structures of society; universities could be organised and based in and around the everyday knowledge and material struggles structuring people's lives. Universities could in fact counter the hegemonic structures. We tried to open a new front at least.

By reclaiming one of society's central means of knowledge production, the machinery of the university, it was actually possible to create spaces that were not based on capitalist valorisation. For us 'free' means gratis and liberated. Everybody can open their own university, it is a simple action. By self-organising universities people can, in a very practical way, counter the free market restructuring of the official universities by re-appropriating the concept of the university as a place for the sharing of knowledge among students (as the first universities were defined). With the Copenhagen Free University we wanted to break into the university as one of the imaginary institutions of neoliberal society by creating a new image, and a new potential path of the possible.

Six months after we opened the CFU, 9-11 happened and the War on Terror pushed the anti-capitalist movement onto the defensive, having to react to all the emerging wars unfolding in the following years. The global civil war was invading our lives and imaginations. This broke the back of the anti-capitalist movement right after the victories of London, Seattle, Gothenburg and Genoa and turned it into the much more vague so-called Social Movement whose objectives became reformist and unclear. Despite this, arrays of de-centralised and self-organised initiatives were still developing and proliferating at grassroots level. Swarms of projects were engaged in developing alternative ways of life, building and extending loose networks, resisting formalisation and avoiding the spectacularisation of politics through the useless and pacifying academic seminars, art exhibitions and publications that have increasingly characterized the mediation of critical culture in recent years. We also checked into this circuit occasionally and got a taste of the forces that are producing schizophrenia and resignation in us.

During our life at the CFU we have encountered the way in which the authority of the word 'university' works on many levels. On a very practical level, people from across the globe started to write to us, applying as students and lecturers; people were using the CFU as a means of getting into increasingly privatized archives, people were using the CFU to obtain job references, people were using the CFU as a means to get into the fortified first world . . . These and other incidents make plain how embedded the authority of institutions is in the global imaginary. But it also tells us how fragile ruling power is when you play with its language and its basic definitions. The drive to self-determination despite the neoliberal knowledge economy is also demonstrated by all our sister self-organised universities that have mushroomed everywhere in parallel to our own development. It has never been about joining the CFU, or any other university, but about opening your own university.

One thing is the fact that a self-instituted university is messing around with the institutional power relations. But on a structural level the question is what conceptions of knowledge are actually pervading the self-institution? Knowledge for us has always been something that is evaporating, slipping between our fingers. It is not something that we treat as a truth or a possession but something living, a relation between people. Truth is always the truth of the masters, the proprietary knowledge is always the knowledge that separates people into those who possess and those who don't. Knowledge for us is always situated and interwoven with desire. The kitchen, the bed, the living room made up our anything-but-sterile laboratories. Dreams, unhappiness, rage were all over the architecture. And knowledge is at the same time about empowerment, making people able to understand and act closer to existence and despite the distortion of the spectacle. The research projects we initiated worked as invitations to share rather than drives to accumulate. There have been no singular end products; of importance were all the various experiences and conclusions that people carry into their own lives and networks after taking part in the activities at the CFU. This is why we haven't published papers or dissertations to wrap up the research projects that we have worked with. We found that the research and the knowledge spun at the CFU did not need a closure. But the institution did.

The Copenhagen Free University has never wanted to become a fixed identity and as a part of the concept of self-institutionalisation we have always found it important to take power and play with power but also to abolish power. This is why the Copenhagen Free University closed down at the end of 2007. Looking back at the six years of existence of the CFU we end our activities with a clear conviction and declare: We Have Won!

The CFU Abolition Committee of 2007 /
Henriette Heise & Jakob Jakobsen

We Have Won!

We want to make it absolutely clear, that everything is falling to pieces

We are fed up with relating. Fed up with projects, which are only symbolic. Fed up with art. Fed up with talk. Fed up with statements. Tired of people who believe that they can save the world. Tired of signing petitions. Tired of being a member of the working-force. Tired of normalization. Fed up with experiences, fed up with economy. Tired of being a committed citizen – ongoing talk about engagement and good intentions. Fed up with demands for authenticity and personal responsibility. Fed up with cars and buses, and seeing good intentions come to an end. Tired of seeing the world repeat itself. Fed up with social impunity. Fed up with distance. Tired of loading our brains with knowledge, without knowing how to use it. Tired of hearing our words being swallowed by the creative class, artist and politicians. Fed up with words that do not become action, and fed up with actions that are not told. Tired of believing that we are doing *the right thing*. Tired of insisting demonstratively on being different. Tired of being scared. Fed up with being fed up. Tired of sounds, tired of silence. Tired of being told that change is impossible, and everything has happened.

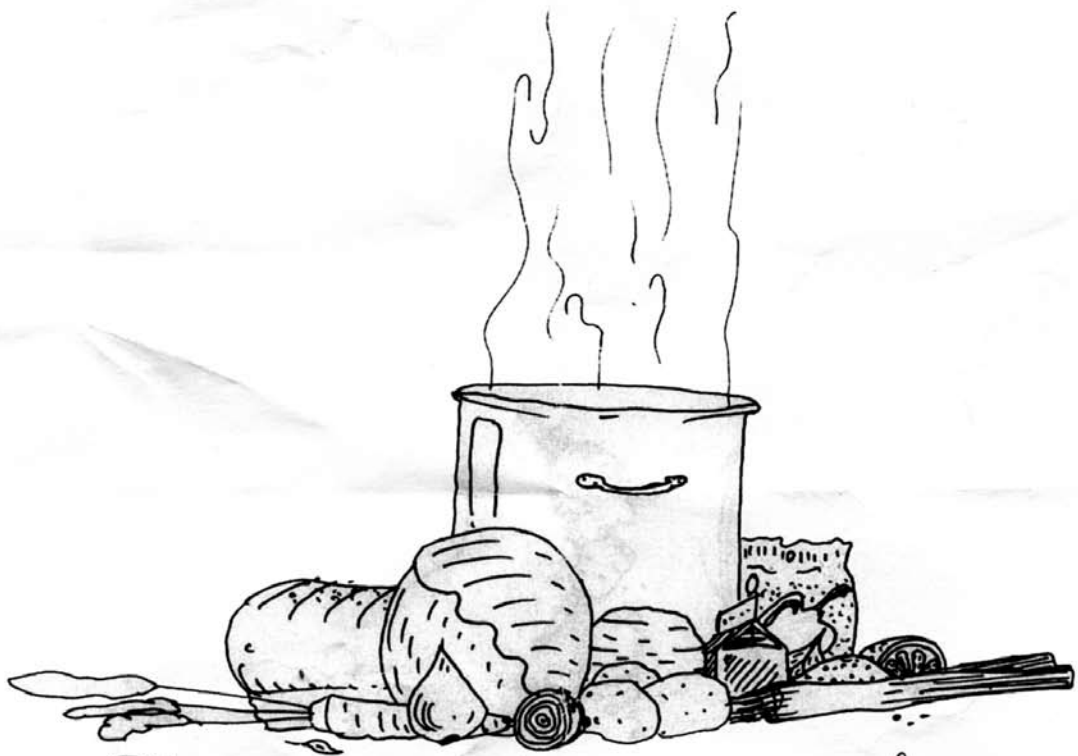
Tired of dealing with anything. Tired of thinking. Tired of consumption. Fed up with self-contradictions, and fed up with unambiguous actions. Fed up with death and war and life. Tired of that we have to *live our life to the fullest*. We are just fed up with not getting it our way.

Still, we lie in bed and watch the days become nights, and nights become days. Still we get up, and love life unconditionally. We still chose to bike around all day, shouting our names in the park, hanging out at night, looking for spots of light, in the corners. We still choose to meet people where they are. Insisting on talking. – We cannot keep our mouth shut. We chose to let go of all hope, so that we can act on what is real. Anyway, we are still romanticists, and continue to astonish and ask *why*. Still we have a desire to manifest ourselves, in this stupid stupid world. Still we collect books, trim hedges, climb high, read newspapers, hang out on streets, sing, dance, kiss, love, hate. Still we smell, taste, inhale the world. Still black holes and with spots astonish us. Still we live on magic collisions, beautiful eyes behind sweat, tears and lost dreams. We still cherish. We still want to be touched, reached, heard and understood.

Because we got the power and we are taking back our words. We withdraw love, care, friendship, communication, lust, sex, sorrow, loss, freedom, nakedness, anger, tolerance, respect, understanding and humanity – innovation, competence and goals you can keep. We have the power and we are taking back the world.

Because we are not cattle, that have to be entertained and confined. We insisted on living and dying as and when we wish. We are rotating stars that shine insanely. We are burning up – fused into each other. Withdrawal is not an option.

Mathias Sæderup, Sine Bang Nielsen 2008



Please bring vegetables of your own choice for saturday.

Thanks

In YNKB we usually do a soup when we meet. Everyone is supposed to bring a vegetable from somewhere (stolen, bought, dumpstered, grown). Together we clean them, chop them and put them together with spices in boiling water. Everytime a new tasty dish is created. We eat together, ofcourse, while talking about various topics...

DEMOCRATIC WALL



we need new kinds of group formation or for individual work to be linked to larger initiatives, movements, groups, and resistant activities! What can this look like?
- Brett

where are we today?
What is the legacy of all this activity?
- Brett

How is the individualization of our art groups, our careers, our grant applications, our residencies, our projects, our cultural capital, our networks, our values, our teaching positions, (insert everything else here) getting in the way of our work having other kinds of impacts, relationships, transformative potential, etcetera?
- Brett

evil cooptation of "off art" (participate at yr. own risk)
*subversion
subversion: subvert, subvert, subvert
subversion: subvert, subvert, subvert
subversion: subvert, subvert, subvert
<http://subversion-hamburg.de>
critical info (soon)
<http://targetautsnoop.org>

INFO about Hamburg tuition Fee boycott (art school):
<http://HFBK.de>

There is an enormous amount of group & counter-market/political/socially engaged art practice. Why doesn't it show up as counter cultural? or why doesn't it have the same symbolic resonance that activities in the 60/70s did?

OPEN CALL FOR ARTISTS / COLLECTIVES WRITERS / LABELS:
(but drawing / painting excluded)
Multiple shop "Unlimited liability" Hornburg Summer 2008
Send idea / project to Stummmedia@yaho.de

JOINT STATEMENT

On Sunday, the last day of the event, during discussion it became apparent that before any concrete actions should be undertaken, it'd be constructive to explore something more fundamental—what values and qualities would we like to nurture in future collective arrangements? In answer to this, we composed a list of both what we'd like to dampen and that which we'd like to cultivate.

The act of composing this list transformed what had hitherto been a discussion with numerous icy blocks and dead ends, into one of camaraderie. Participants came out of themselves and an atmosphere of warmth and caring emanated.

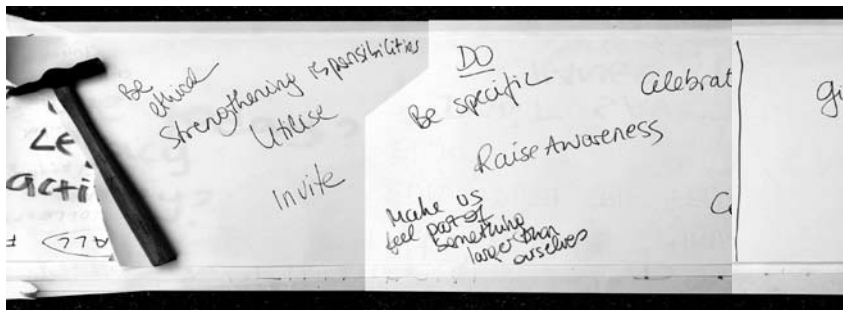
In light of this it became clear that any group looking to remake the world must do so by embodying the changes they seek to bring about. And though this seems obvious, how often is this notion swept aside in the rush to act? How often do we seek to bring about a world of understanding and care, while acting in ways that are ignorant and careless?

After composing the list a discussion ensued as to what could be actualized within the time left to us. We decided upon using a chance operation to break into smaller groups that would intervene in the surrounding area, and meet back in an agreed upon time for a sort of show-and-tell. Upon returning, it was striking to see the heterogeneity of gestures and informative to see the manner with which these were conveyed to the group. Framed in the list that we had set forth, this became an opportunity to collectively reflect upon not only how we interact with the world around us, but how we represent these interactions between ourselves.

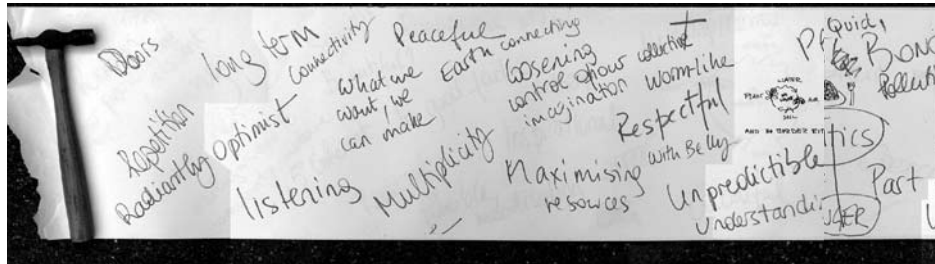
The last day was a terrific end to the event. What was possible and what was not became evident and a willing acceptance of this manifested. And upon this groundwork new modes have already begun to take flight.

Section 8

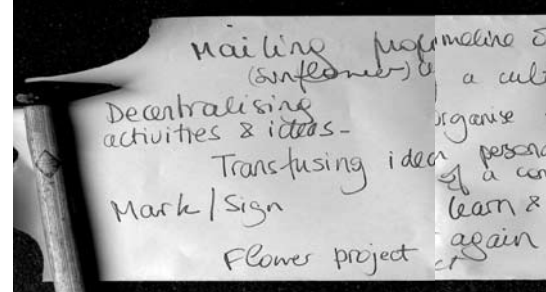
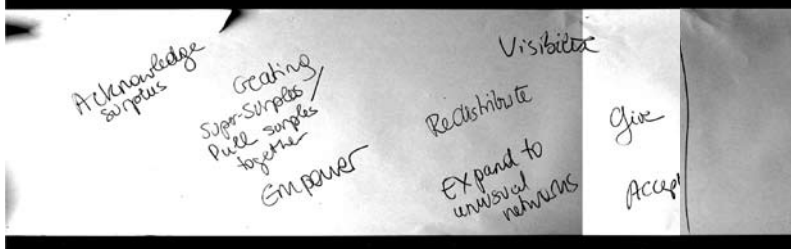
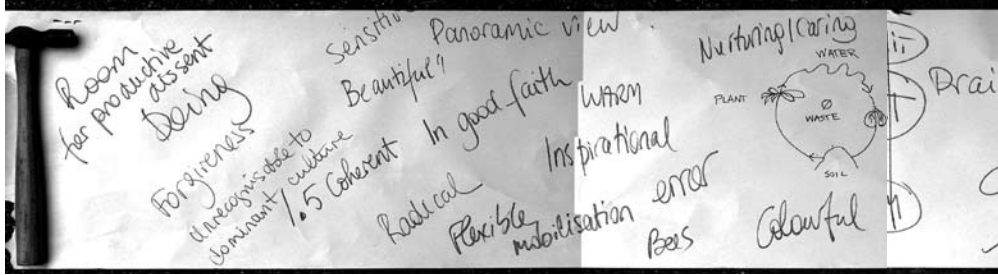
- DO:
- Be ethical
 - Strengthen responsibilities
 - Invent
 - Utilize
 - Be specific
 - Make us feel part of something larger than ourselves
 - Raise awareness
 - Celebrate
 - Be analytical
 - Reciprocate
 - Be in solidarity
 - Connect
 - Represent the other
 - Acknowledge surplus
 - Creating super-surplus/ pull surplus together
 - Empower
 - Redistribution
 - Expand to unusual networks
 - Visibilities
 - Give
 - Identify
 - Produce
 - Accept differences



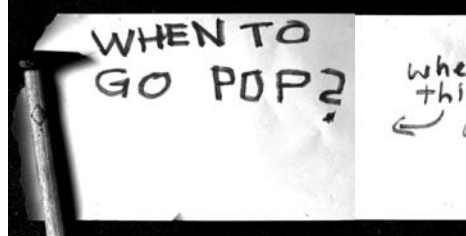
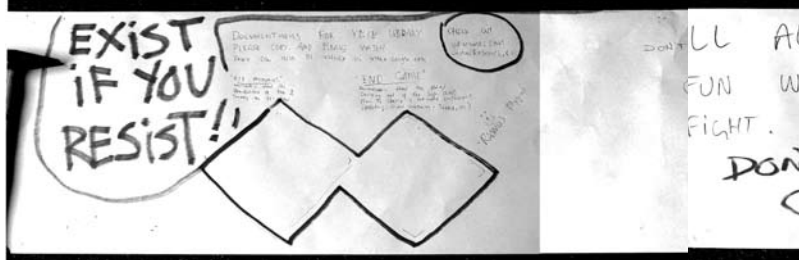
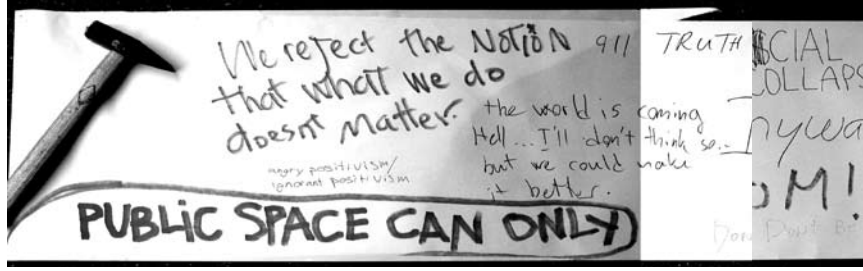
- Doors
- Repetition
- Radiantly optimistic
- Listening
- Multiplicity
- Peaceful
- Earth connecting
- Losing control of our collective imagination
- Worm-like
- Respectful
- With belly
- Unpredictable
- Understanding
- Playful
- Inclusive
- Simplicity
- (a little) trippy
- Psychedelic
- Maximizing resources
- Multiplicity
- Listening
- Room for productive dissent
- Doing
- Forgiveness
- Unrecognizable to dominant culture
- 1.5 coherent
- Sensitive
- Beautiful
- Panoramic view
- Good in faith
- Warm
- Radical
- Flexible mobilization
- Inspirational
- Bees
- Nurturing/care
- Colorful
- Astonishing
- Praising
- Dialog
- Error



- + Doors
- Long term
- Repetition
- Radiantly optimistic
- Listening
- Connectivity
- Peaceful
- What we want we can make
- Earth connecting
- Losing control of our collective imagination
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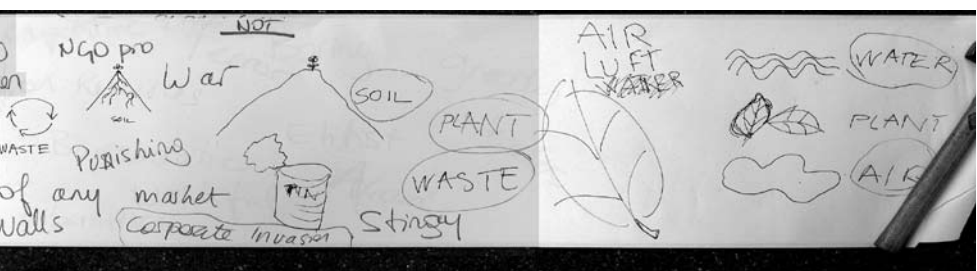


NOT DO

Make defensive

Teach lessons

Rely on authorities



Competitive ^{of public space} Resources

Terror Boring

greedy leaders

Bureaucratic Elitist

Coercive wasteful Afraid

Hibernation

Burden our restrained resources

Happen only in the art world

Represent the Other

of meetings til Dec 09

tural mashing that makes us feel part

our own marginalisation

relationships in awareness of being

community -

listen & do

Bring vegetables of own choice. Please!

ARBEID/WORK

(Hell we are the future)

We can defeat ourselves from within

The Whole is bigger than the sum of its parts

WAYS HAVE MORE

WITH THE PEOPLE WHO

SHINING EYES

SHARING TIME

TO SAVE THE WORLD

CHANGE IT!

When you get down to it,

it is a pretty boring

artist...

- NOT DO:
- Burden our restrained resources
 - Represent the other
 - Happen only in the art world
 - Give up
 - Make defensive
 - Rely on authorities
 - Teach lessons
- +
- Quid, Bono
 - Pollution
 - NGO pro
 - Part of any market
 - Walls
 - Punishing
 - War
 - Corporate invasion of public space
 - Stingy
 - Competitive
 - Boring
 - Drain on resources
 - Coercive
 - Leaders
 - Afraid
 - Wasteful
 - Bureaucratic
 - Greedy
 - Elitist
 - Terror
- +/-
- Politics
 - Anger
 - Shit
 - Art
 - Sexy



Sound installation by Peter Dacke
YNKB February 23, 2008



Electronic music by Havblik Audio



